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Normative media indicators:

**Content analysis of Media Sustainability Index reports on Russia from
2001 until 2012**

Master's Thesis

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I have written the Master's thesis independently.

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Abstract

There are lots of methods and tools worldwide that are measuring and evaluating variety of fields and standings. The most prominent tool is an index that indicates or measures certain values, producing a discourse in a given field. This is a normative approach, establishing a standard by stating relating or deriving norm. The current thesis sets its focus on Media Sustainability Index (MSI) reports on Russia from 2001 until 2012. The aim of the thesis was to investigate how this particular index influences and controls the production of discourse in 21st century global world with specific focus on how human factor, panelists and moderators have an influence on the final outcomes. The research assumes that an index is a utility tool that enables to promote Western values and stabilize hegemony struggles. The research is following Post-Structuralism paradigm, therefore at first it is important to examine the object itself and then the systems of knowledge that produced the specific object. In order to examine the object and the knowledge of MSI reports on Russia, the research conducted content analysis with 215 markers that registered actors, actions, panelists, citations, highlights, contexts, tonality, and temporal spatial division. Findings from content analysis were divided among three modules that distinguish structural and contextual characteristics, which describe and interpret production and dynamics of MSI reports on Russia from 2001 until 2012. The third module focuses on the citations and highlights that are textual tools, which most clearly depict panelists and moderators input for the final outcome. The research is concluding that content and context of MSI reports promote Western values like rule of law and freedom of speech by the norm how it is perceived in the US.

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List of abbreviations

Organizations:

IREX - International Research and Exchanges Board

FH – Freedom House

RWB – Reporters Without Borders

CPJ – Committee to Protect Journalists

IPDC - Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication

IAMCR - International Association for Media and Communication Research

Indices:

MSI – Media Sustainability Index

PFI – Press Freedom Index

ImpI – Impunity Index

Introduction and literature review

Media can represent different aims and utilities depending on the user and its aims. It can be censor and control – media as a fourth state; or can be transferring body – media as a communication tool.

As media can be beneficial institution for variety of interest groups, there is a risk that media's independence can be impeded. The broadest line of interest in the media system is taken in bipolar axes: is it a watchdog or a lapdog? There are a lot of scholars who argue that free media is a cornerstone of democracy. Mueller (1992:984) even found that having a free media is even more important than having the right to vote. Jenifer Whitten-Woodring made this hypothesis (free media goes hand in hand with democracy and government controlled media goes in line with autocracy) even more complex. She put together Van Belle Global Press Freedom Dataset and Polity IV datasets from 1948 until 1995 and concluded that 6 per cent of democracies had government-controlled media and 8 percent of autocracies had free media (Whitten-Woodring, 2009: 601-2). Despite the small number of cases, diffusion between media and regime types exist, but general and straightforward conclusions about them cannot be made.

If to presume that media is a mediating tool between a state and its citizens, then free and professional media is a characteristic that marks well-functioning democratic state. It is a matter of classification, signifier determines category. One can only imagine how many opportunities there are to determine one's standing, one's establishment. When scholars write about Russia, then current regime is typically categorized as a hybrid regime by giving it a great variety of terms (Goode, 2010: 1059):

Putin's regime has been described in terms of managed pluralism, managed democracy, stealth authoritarianism, oligarchy, virtual politics, electoral authoritarianism, and imitation democracy.

As Putin's Russia has been already analyzed and researched by many scholars and outcomes vary by terms as noted above, then it tends to be common agreement that nowadays Russian Federation is not free, liberal, Western type of democracy, nor it is closed authoritarianism, totalitarianism. It is rather floating regime that has democratic institutions, which function in authoritarian manner.

In academic literature, there are numerous works that claim Russia to have an authoritarian media system. (Becker 2004, Pasti 2005, de Smaele 1999, Treisman 2011). Even more, international organizations give Russia *low/not free* values in media or express its vulnerable standing (see Media Sustainability Index, Reporters Without Borders, Committee to Protect Journalists).

Media in Russia has changed dramatically. During the Soviet Union, the reliance on censorship was very evident among officials, along with the use of the media as the direct arm of state propaganda. During the transition period in the early 90s, some level of freedom and state journalism was promoted. This was during the time of Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. This freedom reveals from privatization, where media started to work on profit bases as Ivan Zassoursky named it - *the adoption of the global media culture*, but as Russia was forming to become stable country, *according to the rules of game*, media freedom *was exchanged for favors* (political influence) (Zassoursky, 2000). When Putin came into power in 2000, Russia underwent even stricter control over media and civil society in large. Russian investigate journalist Galina Sidorova who is International Press Institute Vice-Chairwoman and the former editor-in-chief of the monthly Sovershenno Secretno stressed that Russian media situation worsens during presidential campaigns due to pressure from authorities, moreover she marked the plurality of news reporting difference between Yeltsin era and Putin's rule (Trionfi, 2011):

... the multiplicity of opinions that existed during the government of former President Boris Yeltsin, when newspapers were owned by various oligarchs and reflected the diversity of the oligarchs' political opinions, does not exist anymore. Today, Putin's close connections to Russian business have created a situation in which newspapers refrain from criticizing the government, because of pressure by owners or advertisers.

Thereof current media environment is hindered by political and economical forces/pressures that manipulate with media. In general one can claim that Russian media is an explicit signifier for investigating contemporary Russian Federation. Especially due to the medias role and function. Media in Russia is not free and therefore allows to see trends and formations that have shaped Russian Federation. Media is linked with political and economical interests, thus pointing out discursive and contextual formations. I. Zassoursky is a scholar who founded discipline of media

studies in Russia after the fall of Soviet Union and according to Zassoursky, Post-Soviet Russian media can be divided into three periods: up to 1995; the later Yeltsin period, 1996-1999; and third period after Putin came into power in 2000 (Pasti and Pietiläinen, 2008: 109). For most updated assessment of the nature and functioning of Russian media, the research focuses on the third period, from the year 2000, when Putin came into power. Especially because the MSI reports on Russia began in 2001 and assessed media setting and functioning from the beginning of 2000.

The examples given above revealed how scholars in general terms have dealt with issues like regime type and media's role in it. Several questions have been raised:

How media is related with regime? What is the function of media? Who should it serve? Which role does it play?

Completely another viewpoint is to think why and how scholars investigate media systems and their functioning in different regimes. It is like a step aside from a party line, from an existing and functioning line of thought. Thereof, the current research is going to the field of evaluation and tries to create one reality of indexation and measurement package. Consequently, one index with its indicators and methodology creates a new reality. Western countries having a long history of democracy have worked out the most coherent and global indicators in variety of fields, including freedom of speech, human rights et cetera. The current research assumes that those indices are implemented as utility tools that promote and direct a discourse that derives from historical legacy of the West.

Therefore, the current research asks essential question - How well Western based indices can represent Russian media and its functioning. As stated above, there are variety of categories of regime types, media systems and so forth, but the problem is who has explicit right or authority to determine appropriate fitting into those categories. Such explicit rights do not exist, it can rather be said that there are powers, institutions that have worked out normative standards, characteristics, which are implemented. The current research investigates given normative index and examines the outcomes that an index depicts. Moreover to prove that content and context of MSI reports promote and guide a discourse within Western concepts like democracy and freedom of speech.

For example, de Smaele (1999) finds that Russian media system does not fit into the Western-centered models. He was rather deterministic by claiming that (ibid, 1999: 174):

... Russia represents a unique reality, different both from Central and Eastern Europe and Western Europe. In negative terms, this *spetsifika* of Russia hinders the acceptance of western models; in positive terms it encourages a specific Russian adoption to the western model or the modeling of an indigenous Russian system.

As long as we do not have a global and coherent taxonomy of media, the research has to state its terms, objectives, and borders clearly. Sankalpa Dashrath, a research associate at the Media Map Project got assignment *to create a taxonomy of media development activities worldwide*. A task that would be beneficial for future media research turned out to be really complex and difficult to achieve. (Dashrath, S. 2011)

Moreover, there are rather diverse branches of knowledge that has been collected and worked out with multiple methods in order to measure media environment. The most common diagnostic tool to measure media is an index, an indicator that measures features that should encompass desired field. The following paragraphs introduce four well-known indices (Freedom House, Committee to Protect Journalists, Reporters Without Borders, IREX) and their research focus, together with their latest evaluation on Russia with an aim to demonstrate why IREX founded Media Sustainability Index has been chosen as a research object for current thesis.

Freedom House (FH) is one of the oldest indicators that measured freedom and more specifically freedom of expression, press freedom, Internet freedom since 1980s. For the year 2012, FH has scored Russian press status as *Not Free*. Total score was 80 out of 100, which was composed by three spheres: legal (24), political (32), and economic (24) environment¹. Freedom House's methodology states that scoring is ranked on a scale from 0 to 100 and the higher the rank, the worse the situation (0-30=Free, 31-60=Partly Free, 61-100=Not Free) whereby general focus has been set on an accessibility to the news and information (Freedom House, Methodology, 2012: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press-2012/methodology>).

¹ For the latest evaluation on Russian press freedom see: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2012/russia>

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), whose mission is to defend journalists worldwide, was founded in 1981 as a media supporting organization, the committee has been active as long as Freedom House. Though, their impact and activities have been different. They conduct researches where they include data on killed, imprisoned, and exiled journalists². Since 2008, their own index has been calculated as well, the Impunity Index. Ranking is calculated by unsolved journalist murders as a percentage of each country's population, and Russia stands on 9th position, which means that Russia is one of the most dangerous places for journalists, because harming journalists remains unpunished. (Committee to Protect Journalists: <http://cpj.org/2013/02/attacks-on-the-press-in-2012-russia.php>)

Reporters Without Borders (RWB) was also founded in 80's in Montpellier (France) (1985) and their mission is to value freedom of expression and information. More specifically, their actions have been divided into two spheres (Reporters Without Borders, Who we are: <http://en.rsf.org/who-we-are-12-09-2012,32617.html>):

... one focused on Internet Censorship and the New Media, and the other devoted to providing material, financial and psychological assistance to journalists assigned to dangerous areas.

RWB also has their index, Press Freedom Index (PFI). Their latest ranking for Russia has dropped by six places (from 142 (in 2012) to 148 (in 2013)). In 2013, they have also changed their methodology. They have eliminated *questions on human rights violations against journalists and media organizations*. Whereby PFI has moved their data from qualitative to more quantitative by including *counts of journalists killed, attacked, kidnapped, imprisoned, threatened, and media organizations censored and attacked, and will analyse the trends that the numbers represent* (Reporters Without Borders, 2013 Index: <http://rsf.org/index/qEN.html>).

IREX is an international nonprofit organization that was founded in 1968 by US universities in order to encourage exchanges with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Becker, Vlad and Nusser, 2007: 9). Their mission is *to build key elements of a vibrant society: quality education, independent media, and strong communities* (IREX, <http://www.irex.org/about-us>). Among other areas of support, IREX is supporting

² For more about their research method see: <http://cpj.org/about/research.php>

media development through trainings for journalists and they also have their index, Media Sustainability Index (MSI). MSI does not have such history as above described indices, nevertheless their research/analysis is also in-depth and covers 80 countries around the world. Their first report on Russia was conducted in 2001 (MSI Russia, 2001). Their index is more qualitative analysis, which is based on five objectives with seven to nine sub-indicators (see appendix 2) that are evaluated by local media experts (panel).

There are several studies conducted that investigate and evaluate different press freedom indices. Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad and Nancy Nusser analyzed four most well known indices: Freedom House, Reporters Without Borders (PFI), IREX (MSI) and the Committee to Protect Journalists (Impunity Index). They concluded that the achievement of a level of performance does not vary greatly in quality over time (Becker, Vlad and Nusser, 2007: 18):

The empirical analysis of the numerical ratings of four of these organizations – Reporters sans frontières, Freedom House, IREX and the Committee to Protect Journalists – shows that at least the first three of these organizations largely come to the same conclusions about the media. The RSF and Freedom House ratings for 2002 were correlated .81, while the figure in 2003 was .84. The IREX index correlated .72 with the RSF index and .89 with the Freedom House ratings in 2002. In 2003, the figures were .82 and .91.

Another important angle that has to be taken into account is the subject itself. The divergent nature of various societies creates an immense package of characteristics that one uniform index is impossible to combine. Even if the results/findings of various freedom indicators may be convergent, as studies above have stated, the cultural, political, and historical legacy varies. As Press freedom indicators vary, it is incapable to include these aspects and take them into account.

There are studies that try to point out that due to various legacies; evaluation of press freedom is impeded. For example Trilling (2010: 104) in her critical analysis of press freedom in East Asia concluded that Confucianism should not be left aside when evaluating press freedom. Tran, Mahmood, Du, and Khrapavitski (2011: 186) found that *the political realities and the quality of governance* are most influential factors on global press freedom indicators; they conclude that (ibid, 2011: 186):

... traditional theories of the press with rigidly defined categories may no longer suffice for providing adequate conceptions of the increasingly complex realities associated with media use and control. A system perspective – one incorporating a multitude of factors – provides a potentially more useful alternative.

Christina Holtz-Bacha held a presentation at the 2004 conference of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), where she pointed out several reasons why it is difficult to measure freedom of the press worldwide. At first she explained that *press freedom is understood differently*, this is also due to the constitutional differences among countries. The second issue was *inconsistencies between data and in interpretation of the data*; among other cultural aspects she stressed the peculiar way of thinking to an individual – *national idiosyncrasies*. The third issue was related to the amount of data to be examined, she pointed out that *great number of cases* (countries/territories) *need quantitative approach* and thereof qualitative analyses are left aside, though in some cases it could be essential. Taking into consideration the above explained difficulties in measuring freedom of the press, she concluded with *plea for comparative studies* in media and communication research. (Holtz-Bacha, 2004) When she pointed out that there are several reasons for inconsistency in the content, she also emphasized the Western bias, especially due to the human factor that is usually conducting evaluation about freedom of the press (Holtz-Bacha, 2004: 9):

The cultural bias inherent in the scales used to measure freedom of the press continues with those who are actually evaluating the individual countries. The studies mentioned here mostly worked with experts who came from the Western hemisphere or even exclusively from the US. Even if they are experts on the countries and regions they are supposed to evaluate, these experts bring along their 'cultural package', that means their perspective is shaped by the experiences and values of their own culture. The Western bias is thus reinforced.

It is apparent that there are variety of indexes that measure freedom of expression and information from different viewpoint with different methodological approaches. The current research focuses on Russian media and its evaluation by one specific index. It is necessary to emphasize already in the beginning of the current research that an ultimate aim is not to evaluate or investigate Russian media and its functioning *per se*, but rather to analyze one creation of reality. The established reality is constructed on the

foundation of objectives and indicators (discursive components that distinguish normative characteristics by the West) by one index.

The current research goes in depth with US based organization IREX created Media Sustainability Index. Reasons for that are twofold.

First there are articles and studies conducted that conclude with a statement that MSI is a coherent index that includes variety of aspects that go along with freedom of expression and information. For example, Media Map Project report on media development and its measuring finds that MSI is an adequate and coherent index (Roy, 2011:8):

IREX MSI Index is the most comprehensive in terms of what it measures since it considers the media as a whole system, integrating different aspects that lead to a healthy media sector: Freedom of Speech, Professional Journalism, Plurality of News Sources, Business Management and Supporting Institutions.

Thereof the content of MSI reports on Russia is adequate material to investigate coherent evaluation that is dividing media measuring in relation with different structural and institutional environments that affect media system in general. It means that MSI reports are compact in their content by covering variety of institutions and forces that are part of media system.

The second aspect is the system of knowledge that has created the content for MSI reports. According to the methodology of MSI, the evaluation of media system and its functioning have to be carried out by local experts. There is variety of requirements (geographical/professional) for the participants who in the end will join as a panel. This panel is not promoted by IREX to be on consensus and thereof variety of understandings, viewpoints will appear and will be included into the report. (MSI methodology, <http://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi-methodology>)

The purpose is to investigate which sort of reality has been created by the methodology of MSI and to see how it has been developed during last twelve years. MSI reports on Russia have been conducted since 2001 and the first report starts to evaluate Russian media environment from the beginning of 2000 when Putin started his first term as a president of the Russian Federation.

As the main aim of the thesis is to investigate how an index influences and controls the production of discourse in 21st century global world with specific focus on the human factor that has followed and composed reports on Russia according to the methodology of MSI. The research conducts content analysis on MSI reports on Russia from 2001 until 2012; it includes all the reports that have been published by IREX on Russia. Content analysis determines all actors, actions, citations, highlights, spatial and temporal positioning that MSI reports do include. As Holtz-Bacha (2004: 9) stressed that Western bias is apparent even if local experts evaluate their own country or region, the current research sets its focus on the panelists that have composed MSI reports on Russia, setting target on panelists' direct utterances included in the reports, by examining their frequency and content. The research assumes that certain topics are more apparent than others by their occurrence. Also questioning the plurality of viewpoints by panelists and their presence. The thesis investigates the content of a discourse and how textual tools like quoting and highlighting emphasize certain topics that are intended by the panelists to be essential or decisive for Russian media system's functioning and sustainability. Hence, assuming that particular index tackles with production and promotion of a discourse that carries Western values. Therefore, the discussion part of the thesis is divided into three modules that constitute variety of determined components/markers from content analysis.

The first module discusses general appearance and structural elements of MSI reports by depicting size of the sections, spatial positioning of actions, presentation of truth or probability with statistical evaluations, variety of mediums, institutional plurality, and temporal positioning.

The second module constitutes all the actors and actions that were held on MSI reports. Discussing their contextual mood and frequency.

The third module on the contrary fulfills the aim of the thesis by arguing how human factor has had an influence on the production of discourse. More specifically how panelists' utterances in cite and highlights are directing the course and content of discourse. The context and content of citations and highlights will be compared with main text's characteristics (first and second modules) in order to depict emphasized topics that direct the course of discourse. Moreover, the third module intends to show

how some panelists dominate by their frequency and input, because the research is assuming that local experts rotation system according to MSI methodology has not been followed.

To sum up, the thesis intends to examine how MSI panelists, local experts on media field, are directing and influencing the discourse on Russian media environment and sustainability by following MSI methodology, which in turn promotes Western values.

The thesis follows Post-Structuralism paradigm with Foucault's main line of thought where he worked on transmission of discourse, namely how subjective opinions have emerged to objective knowledge (Foucault, 1970; 1977; 1978a). More specifically the current thesis aim and focus follow Foucault's hypothesis that he postulated in his inaugural lecture at College de France (Foucault, 2005a: 9-10):

... I assume that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers.

On more general line of thought, the current research theorizes that production of a discourse within states compete each other on international level. There is constant struggle for domination and justification for ones uniqueness and sovereignty. Same time tackling to reproduce and hold status quo. The struggle over hegemonic position in the world arena.

The current thesis assumes that IREX MSI methodology sets rules for the production of discourse in order to maintain status quo, Western based understanding of the media freedom and the way in which it should be functioning. In order to prove it, the research focuses on panelists' utterances that were cited and emphasized by highlighting.

Structure of thesis

Thesis consists of three main parts. The first research explains theoretical framework, by examining the authors whose approaches will be used, it also distinguishes the terms like text, discourse, social practice et cetera, with their meaning and usage by scholars whose theoretical foundation is applied.

The second part of the thesis constitutes the interpretation of conducted content analysis on MSI reports on Russia from 2001 until 2012. All the markers included for content analysis will be illustrated with charts that are showing variations, trends among different markers. Appendix 1 has collected all the markers that were used for coding. Examples from the text will be included as well in order to enhance charts and interpretation.

The third section is for discussion and conclusions. In the discussion part, the thesis combines the findings from content analysis with theoretical base in order to investigate one construction of reality that US based index can create. To see how textual tools like citations and highlights emphasize topics or contexts, which are essential for maintaining and controlling the production of discourse.

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Theoretical framework

Post-Structuralism

P-S is an approach that considers language as a tool that enables transmission from consciousness to consciousness with open space for interpretations, thereof subjective form of communication. It means that the intention of a statement (text) is not identical with the signification, conveying meaning is a matter of interpretation that can be influenced by different factors (discourses).

Another important corner for P-S is that reader/speaker is set in focus who is operating within the structure. For current research the focus has been set on panelists of MSI Russia that operate according to MSI methodology to produce the discourse that intends to convey knowledge, message about Russian media and its functioning.

P-S can be considered as a critical theory, because it imposes resistance against the hegemony of western philosophy. As in introduction part was demonstrated variety of scholarly approaches and researches how democracy goes hand in hand with free media and authoritarian regimes have limitations for media freedom, questions have been raised who determines characteristics for democracy and for freedom of press. It is a matter of power, hegemonic struggle. Viatcheslav Morozov (2013) in his book *Decentring the West: The Idea of democracy and the struggle for Hegemony* demonstrates how concept of democracy is understood and approached by non-democratic countries and how democracy discourse is influencing contemporary world order. More precisely, Andrey Makarychev demonstrated how Russia tries to adopt Western discourse of democracy (Makarychev in Morozov, 2013: 59):

... supporting the concept of multipolarity and in pledging allegiance to some of the tenets of postcolonialism, Russia hardly aims to undermine Western hegemony. Rather, it wishes to join the already existing hegemonic order and transform some of its institutions to make them more accommodating to the Kremlin's interests. ... Moreover, by regularly employing the language derived from democracy promotion discourse to justify its policies towards Belarus or Georgia, Russia may only strengthen the discursive foundations of Western hegemony.

The current research employs democracy promotion discourse through analysis of MSI reports on Russia to see how local media experts emphasize Western concepts and

discourse on democracy and freedom of the press. Thereof, proving that the discourse what MSI depicts is a utility tool for the West to impose its norms and standards. As Morozov concludes on contemporary struggle over hegemony (2013: 198):

... comparative analysis of counter-hegemonic discourses on democracy all over the world has demonstrated a remarkable degree of consensus as regards the importance of certain key reference points, such as justice, inclusion and development.

Language for P-S is the power that entails stability and order in the world. (Sayegh, accessible at <http://www.csulb.edu/~ssayeghc/theory/poststructuralism.htm>) The current thesis analyze the language (text) as an object that represents order, more precisely media environment and its sustainability in Russia. Johnston and Sidaway (2004) in their study of human geography used coding as interpretation and representation of data. P-S is concerned with struggles over representation, especially because any representation is never neutral and also any researcher is not neutral when analyzing the meaning of a text (Johnston and Sidaway, 2004: 281). This is inevitable and the author of current thesis tried to be as neutral as possible. Content analysis as the working method, diminished the possibility to be biased, because the research followed the coding schema that set frames for interpretation and representation.

P-S therefore handles with both, the object itself and the systems of knowledge that produced the object. Which in turn is perceived as a subjective interpretation by the reader, who analyzes the given text with individual purpose and meaning.

One of the most influential scholars in the P-S field is Michel Foucault, his work and analysis have led a light how subjective opinion has emerged to objective knowledge. Especially he has analyzed how institutions have had an influence on subjects through discourses. Foucault examined how power dictates knowledge production and thereof keeps *meaning* in active position that can develop in time, the best examples are found in his books *Discipline and Punish* (1977), *Introduction: The History of Sexuality* (1978a), and *Madness and Civilisation* (1970) which (Easthope and McGowan, 2004: 75):

... provide detailed analysis of the ways in which power is exercised to produce and to police individual subjects through the production of detailed knowledges of 'the criminal', 'the pervert' and 'the lunatic'

within the discourses of criminality, sexuality and psychiatry and the institutions (particularly state institutions) that guarantee them.

As Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* stressed (1977: 23):

This book is intended as a correlative history of the modern soul and of a new power to judge; a genealogy of the present scientifico-legal complex from which the power to punish derives its bases, justifications and rules, from which it extends its effects and by which it masks its exorbitant singularity.

Thereof Foucault has three general components that help to keep *meaning* in active mode: action to govern (exercise power), an objective (individual subject), and a method (discourse). If to put those components together again then one outcome would be the following: power is exercised on individual subject through discourse. But as Foucault (1982: 208) stressed that his aim *has not been to analyze the phenomena of power, not to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis*. Rather he has focused how through time human beings have been modified as subjects, *three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects* (Foucault, 1982: 208):

- ...the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences; for example, the objectivizing of the speaking subject in *grammaire générale*, philology, and linguistics.
- ... the objectivizing of the subject in what I shall call “dividing practices.”... Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy...
- ... the way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject. For example ... how men have learned recognize themselves as subjects of “sexuality.”

Even though the power is not a research object for Foucault, he could not study *objectivizing of the subject* without using term power, especially power relations. For Foucault (1982: 212-3) power is like a utility tool that enables to see and analyze *objectivization of the subject*, he noted that *a technique, a form of power* is a one that *makes individuals subjects*, not *institution, group, elite, or class* that holds that power. For making such distinction he illustrated it by giving variety of examples of antiauthority struggles; most vivid example was about *the power effects as such* (Foucault, 1982: 211):

... the medical profession is not criticized primarily because it is a profit-making concern, but because it exercises an uncontrolled power over people’s bodies, their health and their life and death.

It means that a form of power and especially its outcomes influence on a human being is the reason why an object becomes a subject.

The main aim of the research is in line with Foucault's approach if to stress his above mentioned logic how subjective opinion has emerged to objective knowledge - to figure how power is exercised in order to produce the sustainable media, within the discourse of indicators and the institution Media Sustainability Index to guarantee it. This is argumentation on micro level, but if to bring it on macro level, then it is possible to argue that MSI is a utility tool that promotes Western values as objective knowledge to implement and follow. Thereof, MSI is a transformer that implements subjective opinion (Western values/norms) as an objective knowledge for the rest of the world, which in turn roots west versus rest paradigm. Discussion part of current thesis is going to exemplify how MSI reports on Russia depict a discourse that emphasizes Western values and principles like rule of law and freedom of speech.

In a theoretical framework of current thesis, it is necessary to stress the argumentation and the discipline that Foucault has created. The most important methodological work that he has written is *Archeology of Knowledge* (1969). It is a book that explains his method and stresses important components that he used for his study of discursive eruptions where a collection of knowledge are transforming, changing and reorganizing itself. There are three components for Foucault that are essential for investigation of archeology of knowledge: utterance, discourse, and discursive formations. Foucault (2005b: 120) stressed that archeological analysis is different from description in history of ideas. He pointed out four principles of archeological analysis (ibid, 2005b: 122-123):

- Archeology is trying to define discourses, as they are, themselves, not the intentions of discourses. Archeology is not a hermeneutic discipline (not searching hidden other), not being allegorical.
- Archeology is trying to define discourses in their difference - observing borders in order to distinguish particular features. Discourse modalities in differential analysis.
- Archeology defines types and rules of discursive practices.
- Archeology is trying not to reconstruct intentions of an author at the point when author and creation are changing identities, rather it is re-writing, conformed modification. A systematic description of an object of discourse.

Here and after Foucault used different terms like utterance, discourse, and discursive formation. For coherent understanding, some emphasis should be put on these terms, especially how Foucault implemented them.

The first, discursive formation constitutes four fields of analysis where function of utterances is created: *formation of objects; formation of subjective positions; formation of terms; formation of strategic choices*. In sum, discursive formation is a system of utterances that is a combination of variety of systems that include aspects from logic (objects and subjective positions), linguistics (terms) and psychology (strategic choices). (Ibid, 2005b: 104)

If we know that system of utterances constitute discursive formation, then we can recall the meaning of discourse for Foucault (ibid, 2005b: 105): *all utterances that belong to the one and same discursive formation, constitute a group of utterances that form discourse*.

And finally it is possible with previous explanations to formulate Foucault's meaning of *discursive practice*. It is a condition that enables utterance to function: combination of anonymous, historical rules that are always set in time and place, rules that are defined in a specific time, in a specific social, economical, geographical, or linguistic environment (ibid, 2005b: 105-6).

Altogether, Foucault created a systematic structure for analyzing a text in its surrounding environment. The inner logic, structure that puts a text or spoken words alive, so as to blow life inside a discourse. He managed to do it without hermeneutics, or other bypassing methods; Foucault created a system to investigate the discourse itself.

The aim of current thesis is not to repeat or adapt Foucault's Archeology of Knowledge one to one; his approach is just the theoretical ground that is combined with other scholars like Fairclough and van Dijk helping to compose concepts and understandings for content analysis used for fulfilling the aim of current research.

Methodology

This section of thesis explains all the procedures that will be done in order to accomplish the aims of current research. In addition, concepts like discourse, context, and tonality that will be used are presented for the current research. Previous section of the thesis explained theoretical framework that is a platform for general line. P-S paradigm where according to Foucault is stated the process how subjective opinion emerges to objective knowledge and where *meaning* is in active mode. Empirical section deals with the data and knowledge base that constitutes material for discussion part.

This empiric part consists of two components: content analysis of MSI reports on Russia from 2001 until 2012; and descriptive, relational analysis of panelists and moderators, their background and frequency (data gathered from content analysis).

As it was explained, the research has been conducted with content analysis. The aim of content analysis was to deal with substance in a speech, literary work, or like for current thesis the content of reports. All available MSI reports on Russia were included to the research. It means time period from 2000 until 2012. Content analysis can be divided into two: conceptual analysis and relational analysis. The first one merely deals with the frequency of concepts and latter one investigates relations among concepts in text. (Busch, C., De Maret, P. S., et cetera, 1994 – 2012) The current thesis deals with both, because they are interrelated. Relational analysis is expansion of conceptual analysis by examining the environment that surrounds coded concept/marker. The concepts that help to examine the environment were explained in previous chapter (discourse, context, tonality). They helped to create and map markers implemented for conducting content analysis.

It is considered important to clarify all distinctions and clarifications in methodological part implemented for content analysis for current research. The next chapter distinguishes the level of analysis by clarifying which concepts, words, or utterances were coded. The amount of coded markers and how they were grouped are also presented. It is also distinguished whether the marker was coded for existence or for frequency.

Coding components and the schema

In order to deconstruct first and draw conclusions later, a coherent and continuous coding schema had to be developed, followed (the coding process itself) and analyzed (the decoding process). Coding was done manually; it means that the researcher read all the MSI reports on Russia and created Excel chart for it. Due to the amount of text, 11 reports altogether, the marker was mainly coded for existence, except three marker groups (amount of citations and highlights, plus frequency of panelists). It was not necessary to count up every concept with their frequency in given section, as all the reports were divided into 66 series/sections. Counting existence inside a section gives an opportunity to see trends within years. It explains the utility of each marker (or marker group) from coding schema.

There are altogether 11 MSI reports on Russia from 2001 to 2012 (the years 2006 and 2007 were combined together as one report originally by the MSI itself). Each report is divided into six parts:

- Introduction
- Freedom of Speech (legal and social norms protecting and promoting free speech and access to public information)
- Professional Journalism (journalism meets professional standards of quality)
- Plurality of News Sources (multiple news sources provide citizens with reliable, objective news)
- Business Management (media are well-managed enterprises, allowing editorial independence)
- Supporting Institutions (supporting institutions function in the professional interests of independent media)

This division is directly from the MSI Russia reports, and for the coding system the same division is kept. This means that coding has a total of 66 series. All 66 series are coded with 215 markers. All markers are described and coded in the coding schema (see appendix 1). In conclusion, 215 markers are divided into 17 groups.

The first two marker groups (Report No. and Section) distinguish each series position according to the year of release and section of the report. The third marker group

determines the size of a series according to 5 different categories (Really small, Rather small, Medium, Rather large, Large). The fourth marker group positions the spatial dimension of series according to three bigger axes: center (Moscow and Saint-Petersburg), periphery (all regions and their cities) and abroad (all foreign countries and places, plus the virtual dimension as well). Moreover, for validity, the marker Not Specified is included for cases in which text is spatialized in the Federation general, or where spatiality cannot be distinguished. The fifth marker group records statistical evaluations in the series. They are organized by the following grouping:

- Other rates, percentages
- Relative rate, rate ratio, probability/likelihood
- Absolute numbers, frequencies
- Arithmetic mean
- Absolute ratio
- No statistics recorded

The sixth marker group defines the medium (TV, Radio, Press, Internet) that is evaluated in the existing series. The seventh and eighth marker groups describe the subjects that figure in the text and gave input for it. Respectively, the seventh marker group consists of institutions and the eighth of all the actors (see appendix 1). The ninth marker group logically follows the prior two subject groups by determining all actions that were held in the texts.

The next six marker groups detect all citations and highlight, by marking their amount (respectively marker groups 10 and 13), tonality (respectively marker groups 11 and 14) and context (respectively marker groups 12 and 15).

Marker group 16 deals with the systems of knowledge that produced the object, the panelists and moderators by counting their appearances in citations and highlighting.

The last marker group reflects the temporal dimension in the series by classifying them on six scales:

- Pre-Soviet – Czarist Russia until 1917

- Soviet – an era from 1917 when revolutionaries overthrew the Russian government until 1991 when Russia becomes an independent federation
- Pre-Putin era – from 1991 until 1999 when Boris Yeltsin resigns
- Putin era – from 2000 when Vladimir Putin became the president of the Russian Federation until 2012 when last MSI report was launched and Putin reelected as a president
- Continuous - undisrupted time flow and/or future
- Not specified - temporal distinction cannot be registered

The empirical part of the current research interprets and evaluates abovementioned markers and their findings from content analysis of MSI reports on Russia from 2001 until 2012.

Discourse

As long as different scholars in different disciplines use discourse, its meaning and usage varies. Most commonly there are two approaches for discourse: the formalist or structuralist paradigm, and the functionalist paradigm. These paradigms respectively have different utility for language: *language above the clause* (Stubbs, 1983: 1) versus *language in use* (Brown and Yule, 1983: 1). For current research, the second version *language in use* is suitable. The parole that is considered an individual speech act, utterance that is an uninterrupted chain of spoken or written language. It means that language is linked with purpose and functions of language in human life (Mayr, 2008:7). It means that everything written intends to mean something and the researcher who investigates written text in its utility and purpose has to observe its contextual relations, in other words (Richardson, 2007: 24):

...language is used to *mean* something and to *do* something...we need to work out what the speaker or writer is *doing* through discourse, and how this “doing” is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts.

It is clear that the research opts functionalist paradigm of discourse, where language is in use, especially how discourse is linked with context.

Context

Van Dijk in his book *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach* introduces a new thorough investigative way of dealing with the text and talk by examining discourse and context (Van Dijk, 2008: 217):

... a more explicit and empirically more satisfactory theory has been presented that defines contexts in terms of subjective mental models – context models, of participants. [Which will offer] ... a much more sophisticated analysis of the complex structures of contextual influence on text and talk.

What van Dijk intended to explain was that how context has influenced written text and also talk (namely he made an example on Tony Blair's speech in the House of Commons) from the viewpoint of reader or listener, important for him is *to construct an appropriate (political) context for it* (ibid, 2008: 3). The current research opts notion of context as Van Dijk takes it (ibid, 2008: 4):

...whenever we want to indicate that some phenomenon, event, action or discourse needs to be seen or studied in relationship to its environment, that is, its "surrounding" conditions, and consequences. We thus not only describe but especially also explain the occurrence or properties of some focal phenomenon in terms of some aspects of its context.

In empirical part, where marker *actors* are presented and interpreted, the researcher has classified *actors* into four categories of contexts (positive, negative, ambivalent, and neutral). This grouping was implemented for coherence; every marked actor was subjectively by the researcher set into *the surrounding conditions and consequences* (circumstances) in order to *construct an appropriate context for it*. The signs perceived, the circumstances that were considered influential for an actor. An object, quality, or event whose presence or occurrence indicates actor's contextual grouping (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) was decided by the author of current thesis, thereof, the research follows P-S framework.

In addition to actors' contexts, the empirical part also investigates participants and their respective background. Especially due to the specific nature of the research unit: MSI

reports are texts that have been conducted and composed by a set of participants (panellists) that should rotate in specific order from year to year. Therefore, the research examines the sequence and occurrences of panellists as well.

Tonality

Coding for current research marked tonalities (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) for two groups of markers: for citation and for highlights. A practical framework for CDA uses a concept called modality. Modality in a broadest sense means variety of options for an author to express attitude or judgement towards oriented topic. In order to carry out coherent research, modality with its variety of (language) tools has been set as a base for tonality.

For Fairclough modality concept deals with *relational and expressive values in grammar*. He has divided modality in two, according to the *direction authority is oriented in: relational modality (a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others)* and *expressive modality (a matter of the writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality)* (Fairclough, 1989:126-7). Fairclough's description about modality is rather distinctive. He noted various grammatical options to evaluate modality (ibid, 1989: 127):

Modality is expressed by *modal auxiliary verbs* like *may, might, must, should, can, can't, ought*, but also by various other formal features including adverbs and tense.

In Foucault's understanding, modality is termed as *enunciative modalities* where *statements position subjects* (ibid, 1992: 43). In his words (Foucault, 1972: 95-6):

... to describe a formulation qua statement does not consist in analysing the relations between the author and what he says (or wanted to say, or said without wanting to); but in determining what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he is to be the subject of it.

Both scholars explained modality from the viewpoint of their discipline nevertheless they complement each other. For Foucault modality is a matter of position taking by subject and for Fairclough (1992: 160):

Modality ... is a point of intersection in discourse between the signification of reality and the enactment of social relations – or in the terms of systemic linguistics, between the ideational and interpersonal functions of language.

Due to the amount of text that is under investigation for current research, modality as understood by Foucault and Fairclough is transmitted from statements/modal auxiliary verbs on to more general classification – tonality. Citations and highlights in MSI reports on Russia were affined with four categories of tonality (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) on the bases of modality. Tonality thereof is considered as a general character/manner that describes citation or highlighting by the mood of a verb.

For clarification, it is necessary to exemplify how modal auxiliary verbs were transmitted into four categories of tonality for current research. Examples will be borrowed from Fairclough's book *Language and Power* (1989: 128-9):

- the bridge should take that weight
- the bridge must collapse under that weight!
- the bridge can't take that weight
- the bridge may collapse

These four examples use four different modal auxiliary verbs and thereof express different values like probability, certainty, obligation, impossibility, possibility, and permission. The researcher relied on surrounding environment and mood of a context in order to decide the value that auxiliaries signified. For example, whether the text signifies wish to collapse the bridge or signifies possibility that the bridge may collapse, it depends on the surrounding context and it was a task of a researcher to affiliate modal auxiliary verbs with four categories of tonality (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral).

Empirics

Methodology of MSI reports

IREX homepage is explaining their system of method how the MSI is conducted and composed. The methodology is a base for a final report that summarizes and illustrates findings for respective country media measurement in a respective time scale, usually one year. In Russian case, one exception is years 2006 and 2007, when one report was conducted for two years.

The MSI evaluates five objectives with seven to nine indicators that should formulate coherent package of measures that is shaping a successful media system. Interesting is to notice that these objectives are not random, they are following general framework that is worked out for media measurement. Intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) at its 26th session that was held on 26-28 of March in 2008 worked out thorough framework for assessing media development. The framework consisted of five general categories (UNESCO, 2008: 11):

CATEGORY 1: A system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media

CATEGORY 2: plurality and diversity of media, a level economic playing field and transparency of ownership

CATEGORY 3: media as a platform for democratic discourse

CATEGORY 4: professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpins freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity

CATEGORY 5: infrastructural capacity is sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media

These categories are more explained at appendix 3. Moreover this framework stressed that none of the categories is more important than others or there is no hierarchical line. Appendix 2 thereof notes the MSI objectives and their respective indicators. The wording is not identical, but the content of the IPDC framework and the MSI objectives are in line. For content analysis, objective comprises a unit of a section.

Second aspect about conducting the MSI reports are the knowledge base that scores, evaluates, and writes together final outcome, the report. The knowledge base for MSI is local experts that are operating in media environment on daily bases. Methodology of MSI also sets conditions for participants (MSI, methodology: <http://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi-methodology>):

Panelists may be editors, reporters, media managers or owners, advertising and marketing specialists, lawyers, professors or teachers, or human rights observers. Additionally, panels comprise the various types of media represented in a country. The panels also include representatives from the capital city and other geographic regions, and they reflect gender, ethnic, and religious diversity as appropriate. For consistency from year to year, at least half of the previous year's participants are included on the following year's panel.

According to the methodology of MSI, IREX has the final editing role, before publishing the report in public (MSI, methodology: <http://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi-methodology>). For current research, content analysis is used to measure frequency and background of participants.

Interpretation and reading of the markers

Following sub-chapters are introducing and giving an interpretation for every marker group. Illustrating the trends and tendencies with various types of charts (lines, columns, radars, areas). Using variety of charts is essential for current research, because amount of data that coding process created was immense. Charts are helping to adapt information in a coherent way.

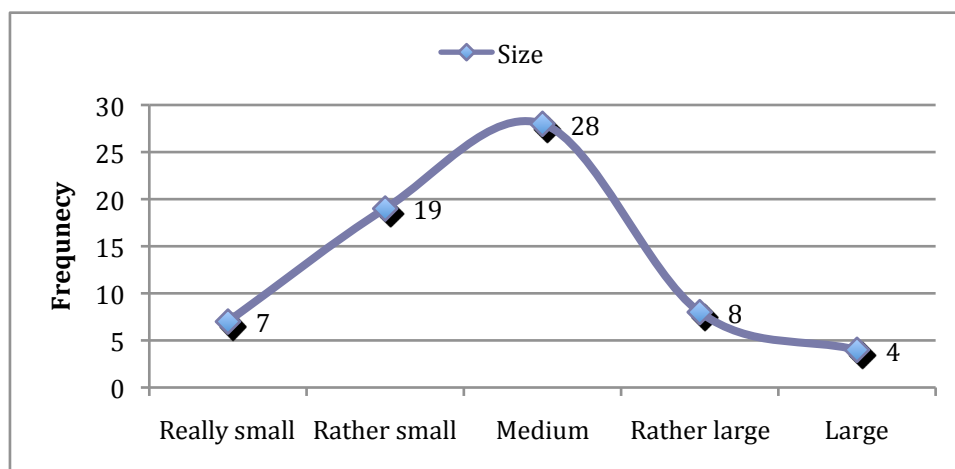
The first two marker groups (Report No. and Section) clarify the position of the series under consideration. Therefore there is no need for interpretation of these marker groups by charts and visuals, except for their use in orientation and positioning among different reports and their sections.

Size

The third marker group is the first group of indicators that can be read and is interpretive. Chart 1 shows report section division by amount of words. Nearly half of the sections (28 out of 66) fit into the group that is labeled Medium (1000-1499 words). When great variations among section sizes cannot be detected, it means that sections are composed in uniform way. A peculiar fact is that the second section (Freedom of Speech) is largest (fitting into groups *Rather large* and *Large*). There might be various explanations for this. First it should be noticed that this objective (Freedom of Speech) has more indicators than other objectives (see appendix 2). Second, the content of this objective should be noted. If one is reading the content of those indicators, then various topics appear: law, access, and competition. These topics are the ones that occur and have great impact on the whole report. Moreover, these topics are related or carried by various actors (*governmental body, the court, police, and professionals*) and actions (*change/implementation issue of law, political pressure, harassment / persecution / beating*) that will be interpreted further. In sum, this objective might have tended to be *Rather large* or *Large* in size, due to the fact that it addresses acute issues in Russian media and a lot of subjects and objects are needed to compile this section of a report.

Chart 1: Chart is dividing each section (count 66) into five groups by counting them up with absolute numbers. Measuring each section by its word count:

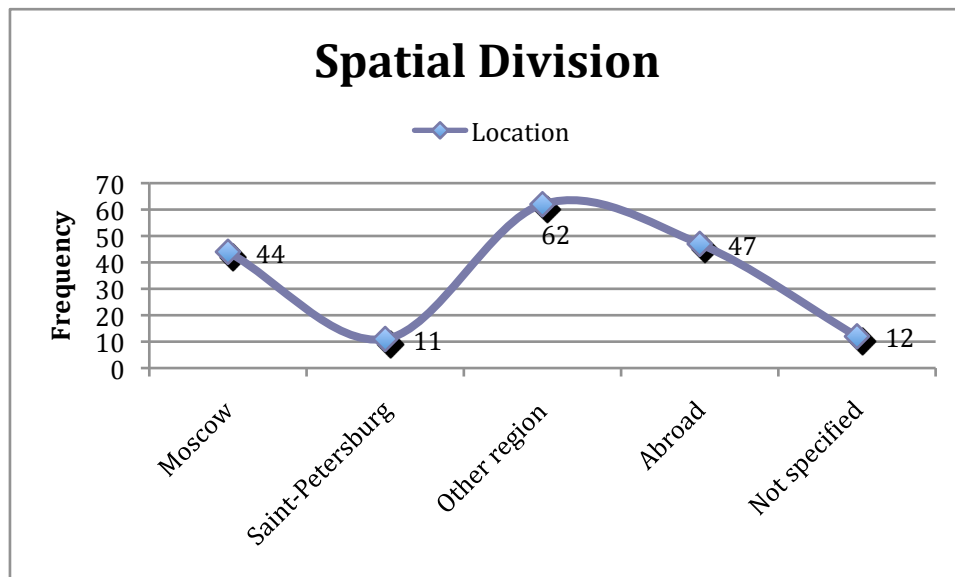
Really small	less than 500 words
Rather small	500 - 999
Medium	1000 - 1499
Rather large	1500 - 1999
Large	2000 and more words



Location

Spatial positioning is with the fourth marker group and identifies the location where actors and actions are held. Chart 2 shows the spatial division of it. Spatial division is rather uniform, if only specified locations are considered and can be summed up as one Moscow and Saint-Petersburg. Moreover, if frequency and locations division is considered altogether, then one cannot point out that the MSI report on Russia is intentionally, in spatial terms, unequal. All sections locate their objects and subjects in different places in the Federation (center and regions) and abroad (includes virtual dimension as well).

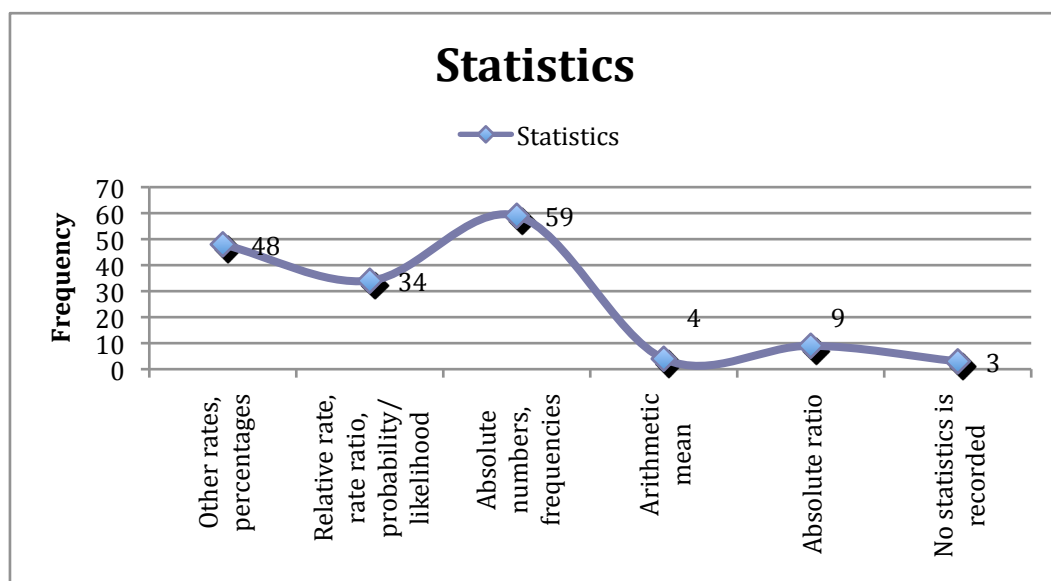
Chart 2: Marked line is counting variety of locations (total 5) in each section. Maximum count with absolute numbers for each location is 66.



Statistics

Statistics is composed of markers that register different statistical evaluations for objects and subjects whose actions/existence can be measured with different values. Statistics has been coded with 6 categories and chart 3 shows how facts and other trends are represented.

Chart 3: Marked line is counting variety of statistical records (total 6 groups) in each section. Maximum count with absolute numbers for each statistical record is 66.



First of all, it is interesting to notice that MSI reports avoid absolute or arithmetic mean ratios. Rather they express trends/events with percentages and frequencies that help readers to visualize statistics and avoid identifying one with the others. Instead of saying that the *average* Russian consumes news mostly from television, MSI uses exact percentages from survey organizations (MSI Russia, 2011:199):

...news consumption by Russia citizens. Eighty-seven percent of people get news from television, 21 percent from newspapers and magazines ...

It is important to notice that the second marker *Relative rate, rate ratio, probability/likelihood* has been detected in 34 series out of 66. Such an amount of intermediate possibilities, where modal adverbs and auxiliaries are used, is hinting at the probability of elimination from news reporting, where pure facts are reported. According to Fairclough this is the expressive modality, which is orientated toward authority (Fairclough, 1989: 126-7):

... a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality...

Thereof it seems natural that MSI reports are collections of stories about the Russian media and its functioning in a given environment, not a uniform fact book. Aim of this marker group was to distinguish direction of authority. It is clear that MSI reports are

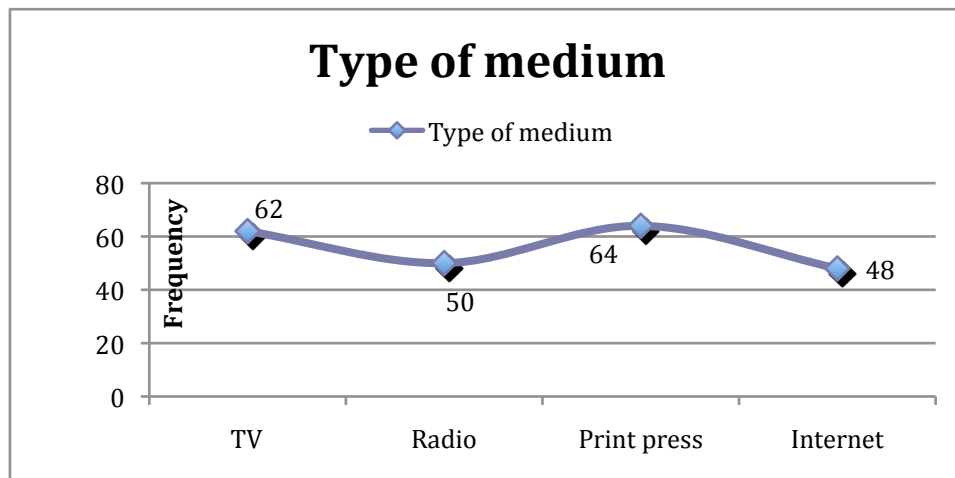
not statistical fact book that represents reality with numerical trends, which have been presented with arithmetical means or absolute ratio. Reports do include percentages and relative rates, but they are represented in a relative manner, not claiming that this is absolute truth/reality.

Type of medium

The coding schema distinguished four main mass media channels (TV, radio, press, and Internet). According to the nature and aim of MSI reports, all different mediums were rather evenly used. Especially different mediums were under consideration simultaneously in majority of reports. This means that a plurality of mediums was analyzed in different sections of the reports. This trend is visualized in Chart 4. The domination of printed press can be registered throughout the reports in the fifth section (Objective: Business Management). There might be various explanations for this. Print press is considered to be less sustainable than other mediums due to the complexity of its creation, from the writing of news itself to distribution to readers. Various hindrances have been explained in the reports: the Russian Post has a monopoly; geographic distance in the mountains and rural areas; unfair competition (independent media versus state-affiliated media). In 2010 an MSI report illustrated one hindrance to print media in Russia with the following metaphor (MSI Russia, 2010: 196):

Distribution of print media remains the Achilles heel of the Russian media industry.

Chart 4: Marked line is showing variation in the representation of four different types of mediums. Maximum count with absolute numbers for each medium is 66.

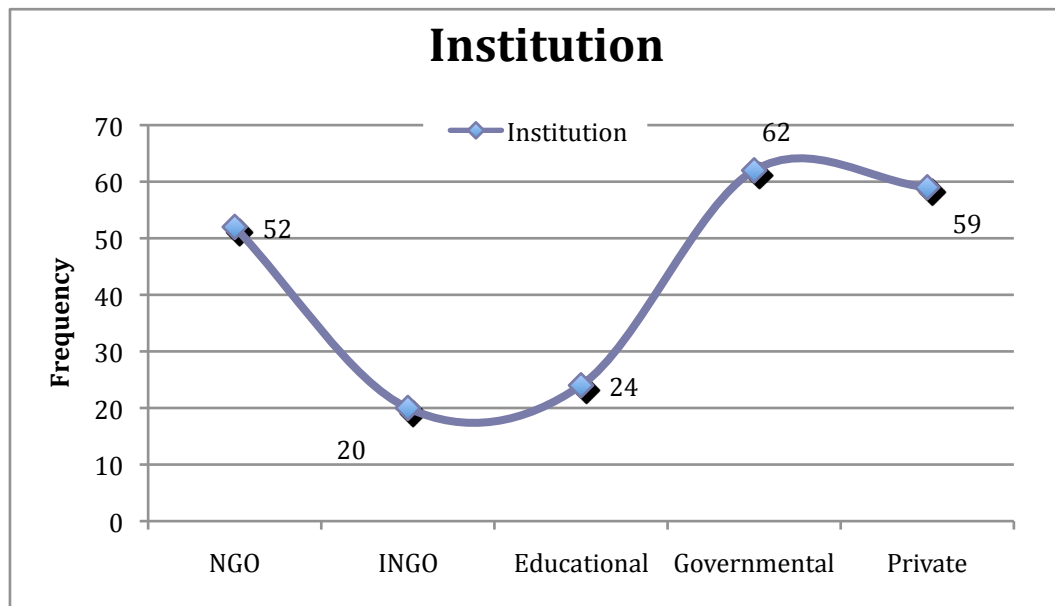


Institutions

Five markers register the occurrence of different institutions: Nongovernmental Organization (NGO), International Nongovernmental Organization (INGO), Educational Institution, Governmental, and Private. Three institutions were centrally figured and were tied to relations and cooperation: Governmental, Private and NGOs³. Their occurrence can be described as nexus of interrelation. Governmental institutions were often marked in relation with private (independent) media or with NGOs that were supportive of media development and rights. Chart 5 shows their frequency of occurrence.

³ See also this article regarding how independent media is associated with NGOs. Lee, T., Johnson, E. and Prakash, A. (2012) *Media Independence and Trust in NGOs : The Case of Postcommunist Countries*, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, Vol. 41

Chart 5: Marked line is counting institutions (divided into five) representation in each section. Maximum count with absolute numbers for each institution is 66.



The other two institutions, INGO and Educational, were remarkably less frequent (respectively 20 and 24 times). INGO was primarily in a positive context due to its desire and actions to aid developing Russian media, though their actions were hindered by restrictions (laws) imposed by governmental institutions. Educational institutions (mainly journalism departments of different universities) were depicted in a negative context by the knowledge base that they offer and also by journalism students themselves. Good examples are offered by Veronika Dmitrieva (regional director for Russia and CIS, Media Development Loan Fund, and by Oleg Panfilov (director of Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations, and also a professor at Moscow State University) (MSI Russia, 2009:194):

“Recently I talked to a graduate of the Journalism Department of Moscow State University. She is absolutely narrow-minded. She is a journalist but deliberates like an average man in the street. I think that journalism department should broaden the mental horizons of their students,” said Dmitrieva. ... “I’ve been teaching at the university for four years already, and I just feel like quitting ... It is useless. I work with third-year students, and my students are already cynics. Out of 20 students, only two or three people say that they will work as journalists. The rest openly say that they will go into PR, which pays better.”[said Panfilov].

Moreover, journalism education has been described as static and stuck in time. As one highlight in the section of Supporting Institutions from 2003 expressed (MSI Russia, 2003: 166):

A multitude of journalism departments exist throughout the state university system. However, these programs are widely seen as mired in the Soviet past, when the media was seen as a propaganda tool and “journalists” were taught to use it as such.

Svetlana Pasti⁴ and Jukka Pietiläinen also concluded in their study that Russian journalists still tend to carry Soviet-era work methods and, moreover, they concluded that younger generations are paternalistic due to being high-handed with authorities and at the same time trying to follow their journalistic duties (Pasti and Pietiläinen, 2008: 128-9).

All 24 times when educational institutions were registered, panelists expressed dissatisfaction with activities (insufficient training) and outcome (narrow-minded students). Such dissatisfaction with journalist from educational institutions is not only an issue for media experts, but for the general media environment as well. Anna Koshman from Alliance of Independent Regional Publishers brought an example (MSI Russia, 2009: 194):

Koshman agreed. “Many regional newspapers try not to hire graduates of journalism departments. I know many publications that think that it is easier to train people who have no journalism education than to re-train people who were studying the wrong things for five years.”

Actors

The coding schema was worked out with two pilot MSI reports, first one that was released in 2001 and the latest one from 2012. With the aid of pilot reports 19 different actor groups got distinguished, the marker Other included. Actors were coded in two ways, according to their frequency and also their context. The general meaning and

⁴ See also her article about Russian journalists who are from the Soviet era and the others who joined the profession after 1991. Pasti, S. (2005) *Two Generations of Contemporary Russian Journalists*, European Journal of Communication, Vol. 20

explanation of a context is borrowed from Oxford American Dictionary (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/>):

- the circumstances that form the setting for an event, statement, or idea, and in terms of which it can be fully understood and assessed : *the decision was taken within the context of planned cuts in spending.*
- the parts of something written or spoken that immediately precede and follow a word or passage and clarify its meaning : *word processing is affected by the context in which words appear.*

The mood of a context has been divided into 4 categories: positive, negative, ambivalent, and neutral. Distinction has been made by researcher's personal evaluation by the surrounding environment and incidences. Such division helps to distinguish respective properties where existing actor is figuring. Like van Dijk noted (2008: 4):

We thus not only describe but especially also explain the occurrence or properties of some focal phenomenon in terms of some aspects of its context.

Following chapters are explaining actors who were present and showing their contextual division with charts and examples from texts.

Frequency of actors

Before interpretation of the context, some insight into the frequency of actors is necessary. All 19 actors were apparent, though some of them were clearly dominant. Chart 6 visualizes the frequency of all marked actors (the marker Other is zero due to the way of coding: they were written down, not coded). Simply by frequency actors can be divided into three groups. The most frequent actors were apparent between 70 percent until 90 percent of the series. The average frequency group of actors was apparent in around 50 percent of the series. The rest of the actors remained under 30 percent, if counting their incidence in a total of 66 series.

Four actors who are most frequent can be labeled as protagonists due to their influence and role. The marker Professional includes one of the main actors in media production – journalist. Other protagonist actors were Governmental Body (for example regional authorities), Private Company (various independent media companies), and State-

Owned Company (for example Gazprom). Their role as main figures is primarily due to their role and actions. Their role and actions can be divided in two:

- the use of persuasion, influence, or intimidation to make someone do something
- compliance with the command, direction, or request of (a person or a law); submit to the authority

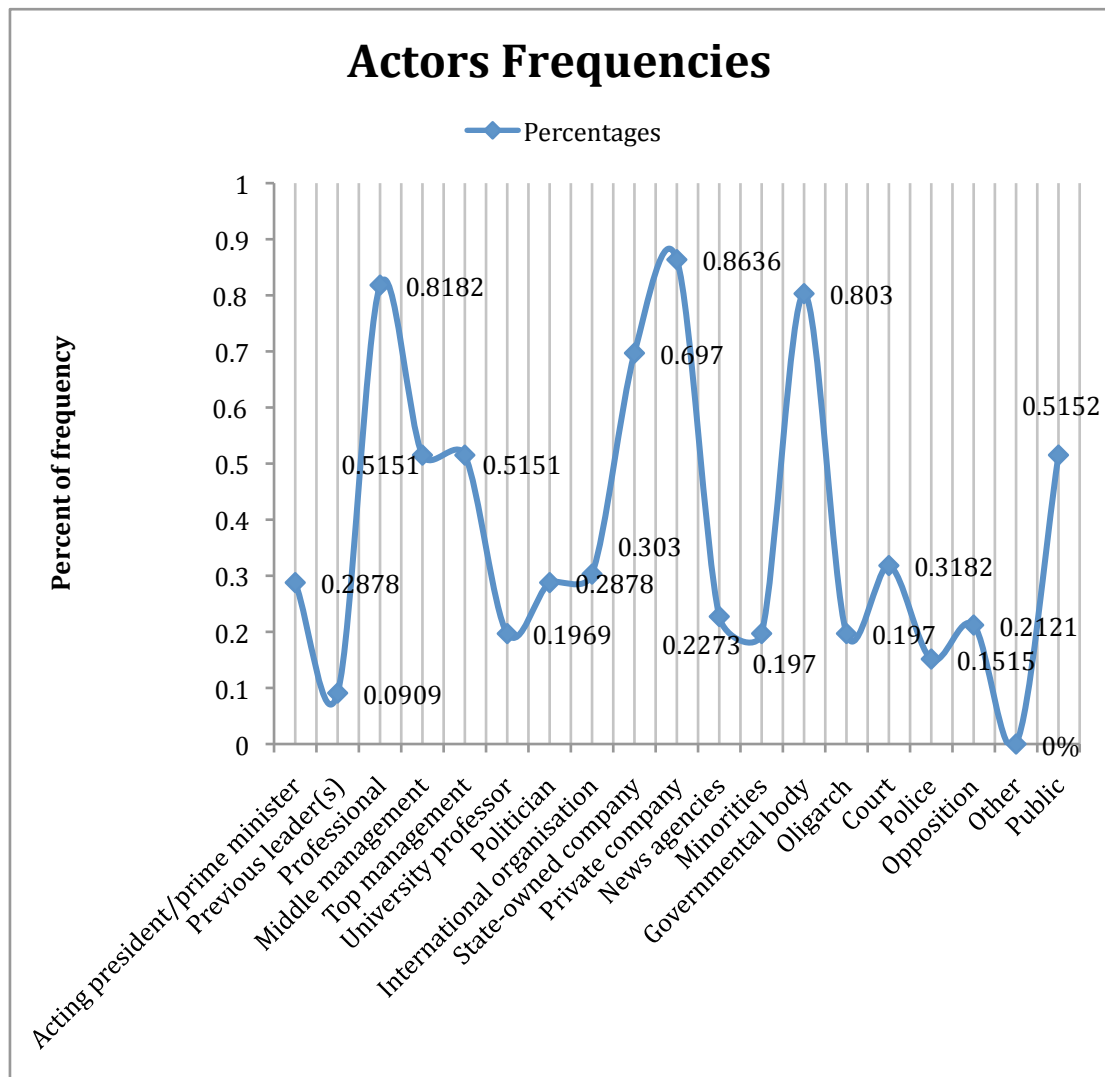
The above-explained division of role and actions varies among actors. As the introduction of the MSI report from 2003 said (MSI Russia, 2003: 155):

Some observers suggested that Russia simply adjusted to the limits of mixed state and non-state media, with obviously highly politicized media at one pole and some professional independent media struggling to emerge at the other. This situation allows some to pretend and others to believe that, as the Russian saying goes, “both the wolves are fed and the sheep are safe.”

The average groups of actors, according to frequency, are Middle and Top Management, plus the Public (Russians in general who are the consumers of media). In 51.52 percent of the series, the Public was apparent with their needs (entertainment versus news) and habits (preferring TV to newspapers). Roughly this means that every second series tied together Russian media system and its functioning with media consumers needs and habits.

Thus MSI reports cover the whole continuum of media production from its creation until delivery to and consumption by an audience.

Chart 6: Measuring the rate of actors' occurrence in percentages from all the sections. In total 66 series that counts for 100 percent.

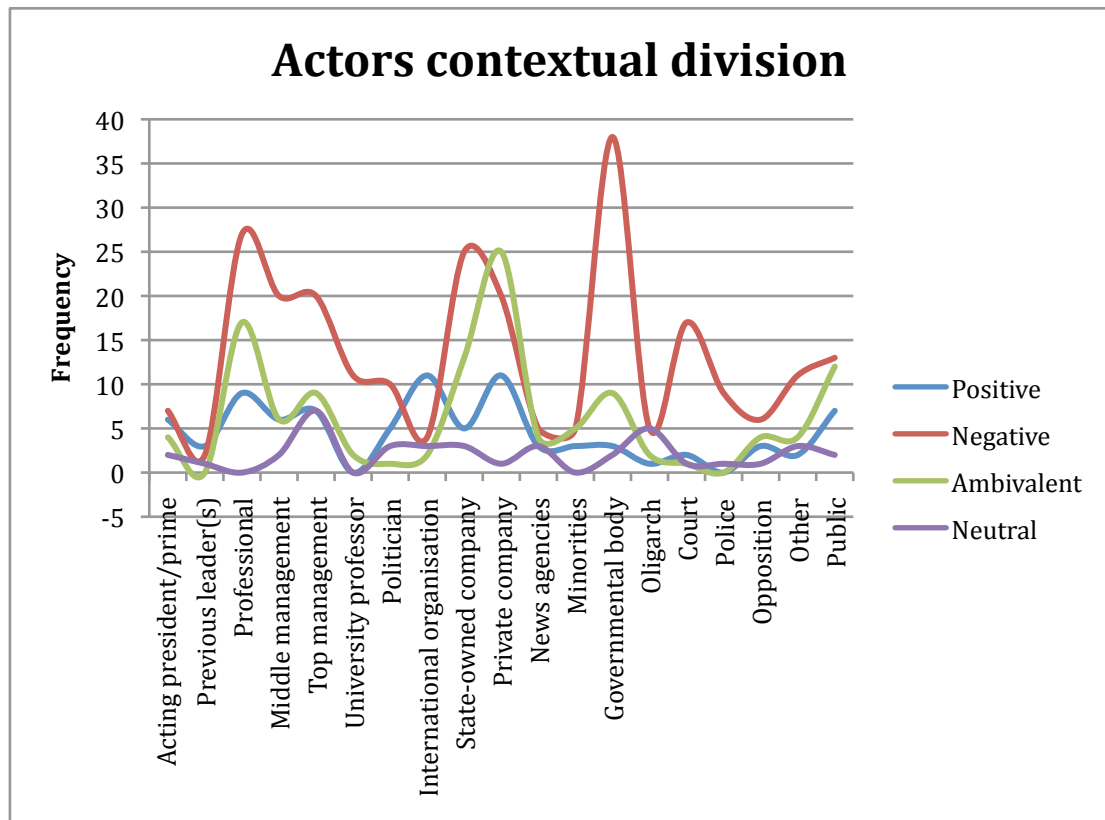


Context of actors

The context of actors is marked by the environment and circumstances where the actor is found. Chart 7 illustrates actors' contexts in 4 categories (positive, negative, ambivalent, and neutral) by the rate of occurrence. Thereof more coherent understanding can be created if the frequency of a context in comparison with the remaining 3 categories is also analyzed. Chart 7 shows that actors in a neutral context are really rare (from 0 to 7 cases), and those in a positive context are also rare (from 0 to 11 cases). Negative and Ambivalent contexts were represented with higher variations;

the maximum cases were, respectively, 38 (Governmental body) and 25 (Private company).

Chart 7: Dividing all the actors (in total 19) within their context (positive, negative, ambivalent, and neutral). Maximum count in absolute numbers for each context is 66.



The incumbent president or prime minister and previous leaders were quite rarely represented, though their contexts also had variations. During president Medvedev’s presidency from 2008 until 2012, MSI reports were rather positive with regard to his rule. He was mentioned two times and both of them were in a positive context by the proposition by Medvedev that media should be independent:

There are also signs that the government is tiring of subsidizing unprofitable state newspapers. In his address to the Federal Assembly at the end of 2010, President Medvedev said briefly that authorities should not own newspapers. This prompted panelist Vladimir Pavlovsky, editor-in-chief and director of Krasnoyarsky Rabochiy, to comment, “I think this is a revolutionary event. Since the October Revolution Russia always had party and state media, and no public official ever attempted to change that.” (MSI Russia, 2011:191)

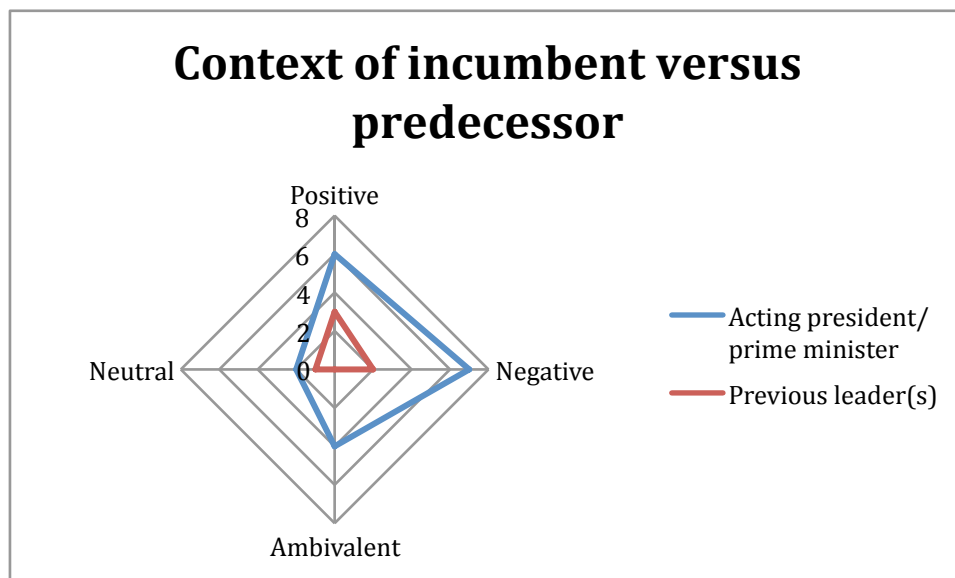
In a new twist in 2009, individual citizens used the Internet to directly address top Russian authorities. President Dmitry Medvedev may have initiated this development, as he started his own blog and invited people to leave comments. (MSI Russia, 2010: 185)

Though this last example continues in a twist of context from positive to negative and the actor also changed (MSI Russia, 2010: 185):

In November 2009, police officer Aleksei Dymovsky posted an online video in which he addressed Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and brought up corruption and violations in the law enforcement system. ... [But his public utterances were turned against himself] ... He was fired from the police force for libel ... [and] ... On December 28, the prosecutor's office initiated a criminal case against Dymovsky for fraud. On January 22, 2010, Dymovsky was arrested.

Chart 8 shows on radar how the contexts of incumbent officials (president and prime minister) differed from previous leader(s). Though both actors were quite rarely registered, one can conclude that the MSI report is focused more on the present, not setting tone on the past.

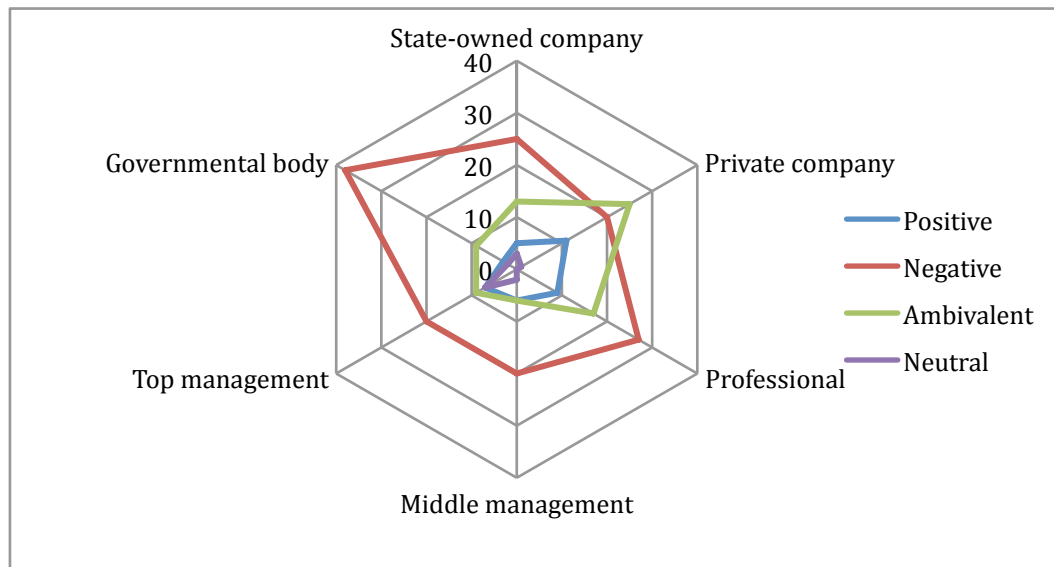
Chart 8: Radar that is comparing contextual division (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) between incumbent (acting president/prime minister) and predecessor (previous president(s)). Actors contexts are counted with absolute numbers, maximum count is 66 (range in current radar is between 0 and 8).



Another contextual cluster to interpret are the actors whose context is strongly negative or ambivalent. Their occurrence was visibly higher than others as well. Radar in Chart 9

visualizes this. Again these actors were interrelated and therefore their negative context is apparent. Private Company is the only actor whose ambivalent context is greater than its negative one.

Chart 9: Radar that is comparing contextual division (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) between six actors whose rate of occurrence was high. Actors contexts are counted with absolute numbers, maximum count is 66 (range in current radar is between 0 and 40).



Such trends can be interpreted by the circumstances that surround the struggle and survival of independent media. As one panelist from 2001 stated (MSI Russia, 2001: 202):

... “it would be premature to call this sector ‘business,’ and too premature to use the name ‘ market’ for what we have now in Russia.”

And it seems that 10 years later the same statement can be repeated due to the reality that it is impossible to behave according to the principles of equality and justice. As Fedor Kravchenko (managing partner, Media Lawyers Collegium) described unfair competition in Russian media market (MSI Russia, 2012: 236):

“State media receive funding from state budgets, are distributed for free, and get favorable treatment in terms of licensing and entering the digital television packages, and at the same time they compete in the advertising market with private media that lack any of the above-mentioned privileges,”... .

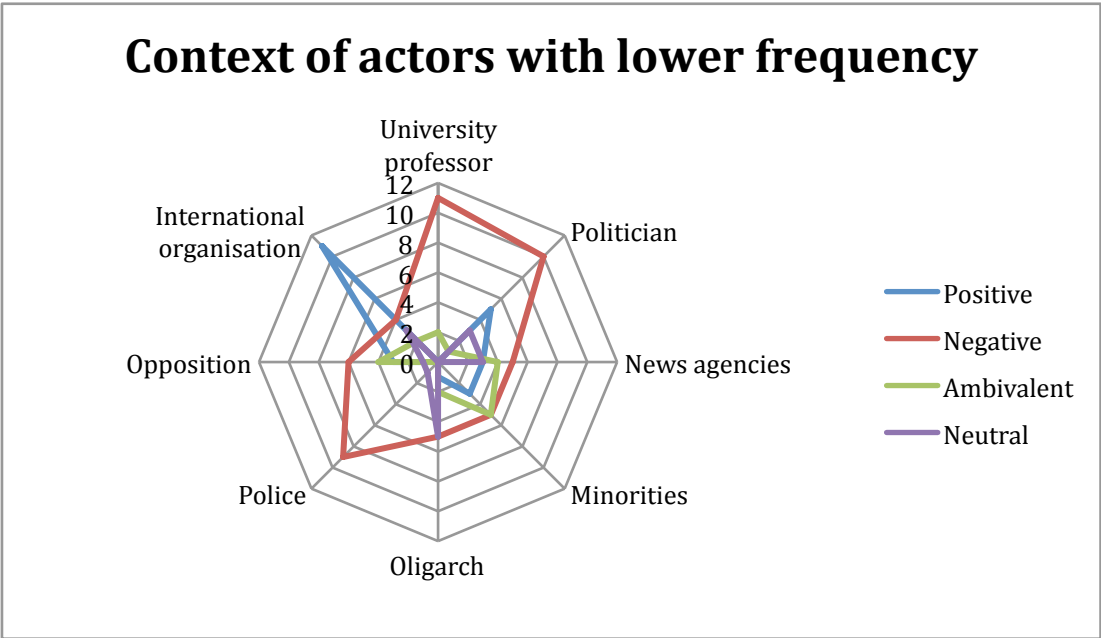
Maria Eismont who is the director of the Russian Independent Media Program, The New Eurasia Foundation, brought out an example that fits well into the ambivalent context (MSI Russia, 2012: 236):

“I know several media outlets that worked hard over the past several years to make their operations transparent and comply with all accounting requirements, up to the point when all salaries were paid officially and all financial transactions were transparent. They paid this 34 percent tax for a couple months and realized that they have to go back to the gray economy or close down. And they went gray [paying their employees under the table],” ...

Actors with lower rate of frequency and their respective context

The previous chapter dealt with actors whose rate of incidence was high and therefore their mood of context was more apparent. Chart 10 takes under consideration actors whose frequency rate was lower and consequently helps to visualize their context.

Chart 10: Radar that is comparing contextual division (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) between eight actors whose rate of occurrence was low. Actors contexts are counted with absolute numbers, maximum count is 66 (range in current radar is between 0 and 12).



The radar above demonstrates that university professors are primarily in a negative context. This trend is in line with the above-discussed chapter about institutions and their input where examples were brought out. MSI reports admit that a variety of

journalism departments exist, but their quality is not good. A curious example of manipulation by university professors is following (MSI Russia, 2011: 204):

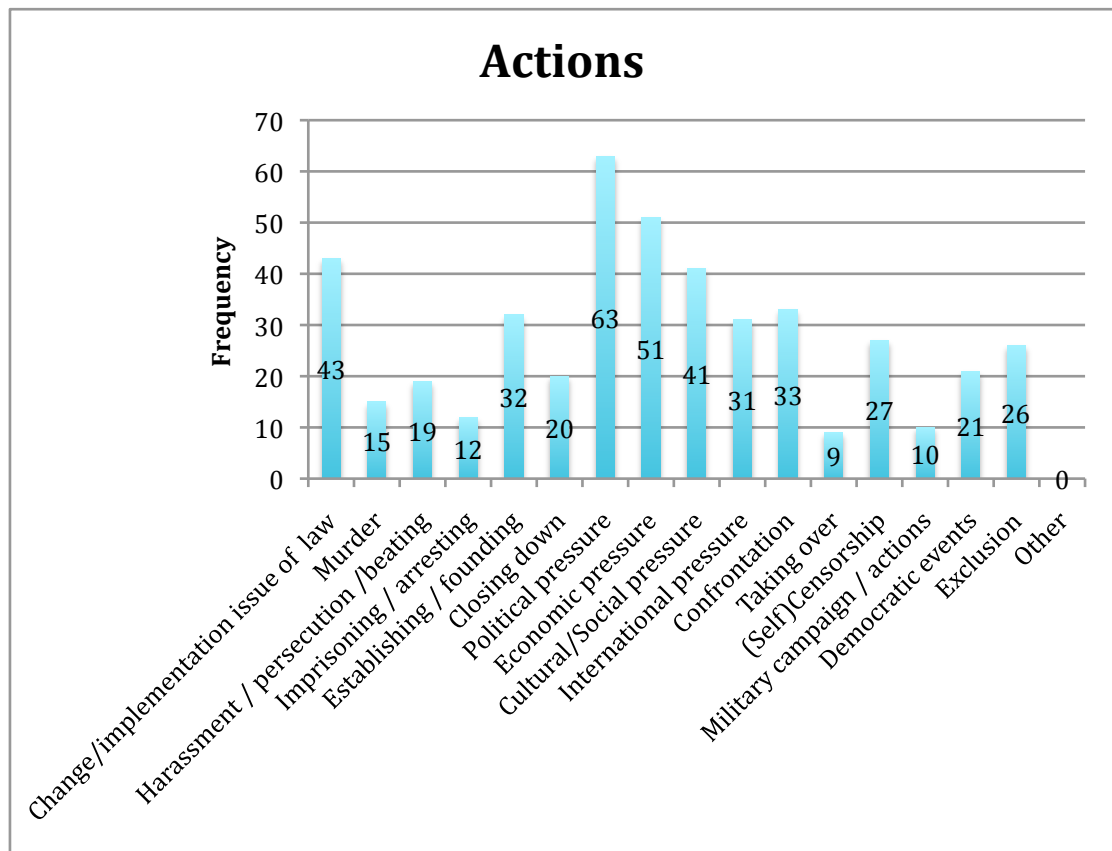
...teachers of a journalism program at a local university discouraged students from doing internship at independent media outlets, saying that they were trained for media outlets of municipal authorities.

Actors labeled Politician are also primarily in a negative context together with opposition politicians, though opposition politicians are more rarely apparent. The Police are registered only in negative context due to the nature of their role (arresting and impeding journalists in their duties). News agencies, minorities, and oligarchs were apparent in various contexts. International organizations in contrast were depicted in a positive context. Reason relies in their actions: they were described as bodies that are willing to support Russian media system by offering aid and training.

Actions

The current chapter is going to give insight and interpretation of the coded actions in MSI reports. All together 17 different action clusters were marked and their occurrence was registered. Chart 11 has summarized all actions and their frequencies among reports (see appendix 4 for percentages).

Chart 11: Columns are counting all the actions (total 17) in each section. Maximum count in absolute numbers for each action is 66.



Change/implementation issue of law

As in every democratic society, ground rules of coexisting should/are set in a constitution and more specific laws are regulated in various legal acts. As chart 11 shows, the marker Change/implementation issue of law has been registered in 43 series out of 66. This high rate can be explained by the above-mentioned need of legal frameworks for coexisting, but the question is of its actual functioning and benefit (misuse or use for (un)sustainable media development). Also, law *per se* cannot exist without objects and subjects who are using existing system and knowledge of justice.

Every MSI report in different sections (most commonly in the sections of Freedom of Speech) declares that laws, which protect free speech and mass media, do exist. Common wording for it is following (MSI Russia, 2012: 229):

Russia's constitution guarantees free speech. The Russian Media Law, in effect since 1991, also supports the freedom of speech, guarantee editorial independence for all media, and is in line with international human-rights and freedom-of-expression standards.

Jane Henderson in her contextual analysis of the Constitution of the Russian Federation⁵ has made a deep investigation of the formation process and temporal developments of the currently existing constitution and its role. More to the point, she brought out Article 29 on freedom of thought and speech (Henderson, 2011: 234):

Article 29(1) – right in general

Article 29(2) – hate speech is prohibited on the indication for an idea, argument on various classifications (social, racial, national, religious, or language superiority)

Article 29(3) – freedom of being forced to express or renounce opinions or convictions

Article 29(4) – federal law defines state secrets

Article 29(5) – freedom of mass media is guaranteed and censorship prohibited

Though in Russia there are a lot of cases when the above mentioned freedoms and rights are violated and, *due to the nature and the aim*, MSI reports tell different stories of how those laws are misused or just left aside. For example, the MSI report from 2012 is illustrated by cases of manipulations of laws (MSI Russia, 2012: 231):

Criminal code article 282 – on the prosecution of extremism (stirring up enmity against national and social groups) – is much handier for punishing critical voices, as any criticism of authorities can be interpreted as extremism, noted Timoshenko. For example, in January 2011, the court suspended the editor-in-chief of Vechernaya Riazan from the job while the editor was under a criminal investigation launched under article 282. The prosecutors claimed that in 2004-2009, the newspaper ran an article that stirred up enmity against the Jewish people, and in 2010, an article that stirred up enmity against the police.

⁵ On the freedom of speech and mass media in Russia she is suggesting to see following authors as well:

- Rakhmilovich, A. (1996) *The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation: Recent Cases on Protecting the Freedom of Thought and Speech and Related Matters*, Review of Central and East European Law, Vol. 22, p. 129
- Henderson, J. and Sayadyan, H. (2011) *Freedom of Information in Russia*, European Public Law, Vol. 2, pp. 293-311
- Sakwa, R. (2008) *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th edition, Abington: Routledge, p. 345
- Henderson, J. (2005) *The Russian Constitutional Court to the Rescue: Freedom of Political Comment Reasserted*, European Public Law, Vol. 11, pp. 17-29

Or another example from the same report about using administrative code to exert pressure on media (MSI Russia, 2012: 231):

... the editors of the independent paper in Berdsk, Gorodskoy Vestnik (City Herald), reported to the Glasnost Defense Foundation that local authorities and affiliated businessmen were lodging numerous court cases against the newspaper, on charges of defamation and business reputation damage, to ruin it financially and drive it out of business.

MSI reports also show ambivalent positions on law enforcement and its functioning, though they are in the minority if compared with the general negative context of Russian courts and their operations. In 2009, two panellists had opposite views (MSI Russia, 2009: 187):

“Russian legislation provides optimum protection for all rights related to free speech,” said Fedor Kravchenko, an attorney with the Bar of Media Lawyers. But Znamenskaya [chief editor, Zhukovskiye Vesti newspaper] said, “We do not have independent courts that would ensure enforcement of media laws or any other laws. Often the courts serve political interests.”

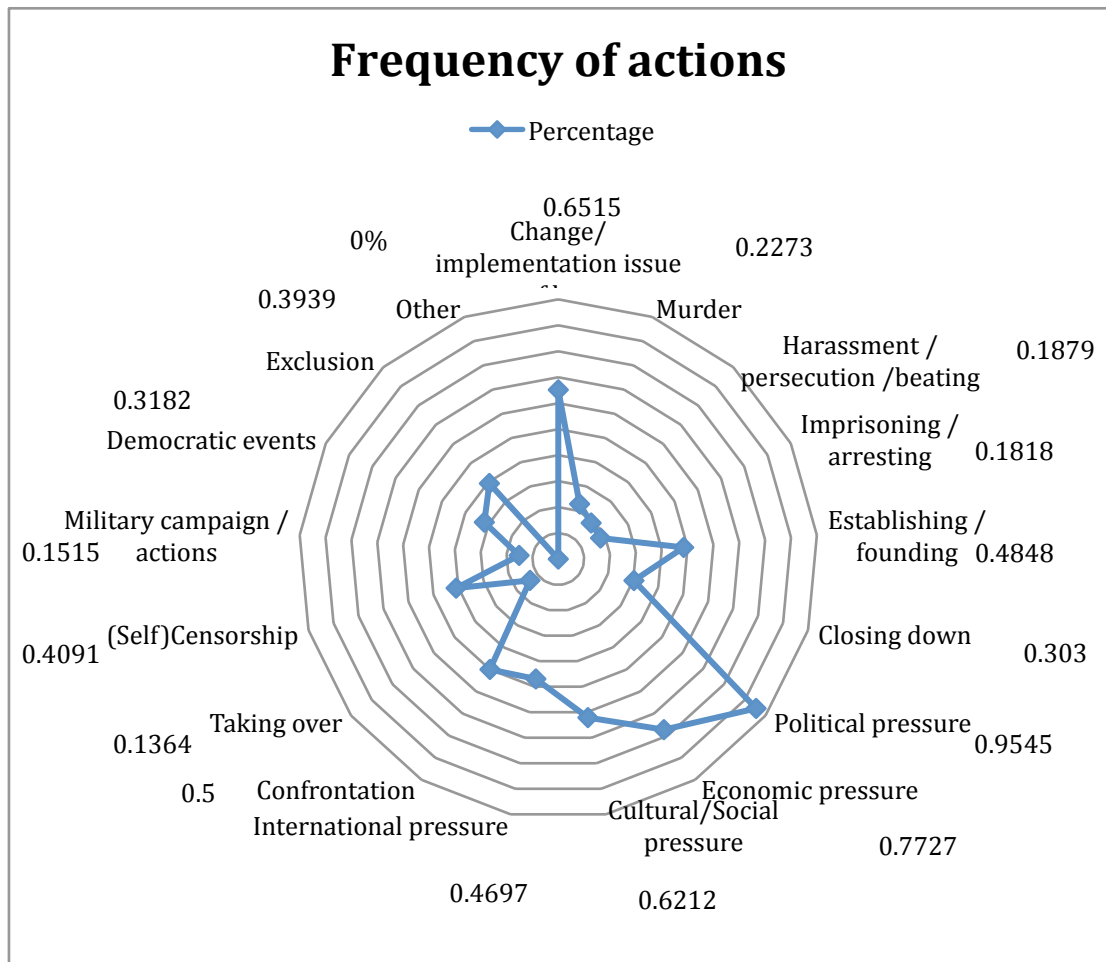
Previous examples included actors like police, minorities, and courts. Chart 10 (on page 42) illustrates the context of these actors. The Court and Police were registered dominantly as negative, while Minorities were in more uniform and mixed contexts. If relying on previous examples, the Court and Police were marked in negative contexts mainly due to the actions and circumstances that go along with their roles/duties.

Cluster of pressures

While the previous chapter dealt with law enforcement and implementation issues, the current chapter will continue with those actions that enforce or, vice versa, impede freedom of speech or law enforcement in general. Coding included pressure from four different sources: political, economic, international and cultural/social pressure (chart 12). Each source of pressure can be taken together with actors who enforce these influences. Governmental Bodies, for example, usually imposed political pressure; this is revealed from the fact that both were registered with high rate of incidence (respectively 80.30 percent and 95.45 percent). International Pressure was also marked with high rate as chart 12 reveals, but it is important to notice the fact that the marker International Pressure included also positive influence, for example by cooperation with

Russian media. Nevertheless the radar on chart 12 visualizes the amount of pressure as an action in MSI reports on Russia.

Chart 12: Radar is measuring frequency of actions (total 17) with percentages in each section. In total 66 series count for 100 percent.



Other actions

Chart 12 also shows a variety of other actions that took place in the MSI reports. They are more or less equal in their rate of incidence. Though there are actions that are antipodes or can be connected by their nature that leave room for interpretation.

Markers Establishing/founding versus Closing down are out of balance. In proportions establishing or founding a new media company was in advance, if compared with closure. Roughly speaking this is a positive trend and hints towards the sustainability of

the Russian media environment. The marker Taking over with 13.64 percent is not at a high rate, though it is important to notice the visible authoritarian trend. Taking over has been registered as an action where state-affiliated company or other forces possess independent media company ownership and begin to influence media content.

Three markers Murder, Harassment/persecution/beating, and Imprisoning/arresting can be summed together due to their common subject, the Russian journalist. Otherwise attacks towards journalists would be scattered. Table 1 sums up actions against Russian journalists.

Table 1: Table is counting together three actions against Russian journalists. Counting actions together with absolute numbers (maximum count for each action is 66) and their respective percentage (66 series count for 100 percent).

Action	Number of series	Percentage
Murder	15	22.73%
Harassment / persecution /beating	19	18.79%
Imprisoning / arresting	12	18.18%
Total:	46	59.70%

Actions against journalists were strongly apparent. Moreover, every report included stories and statistics about violations of journalists' rights and their intimidation. The general concern of panelists was impunity. Even if assassins of journalists were punished, but the one who ordered murder, remains unknown and therefore unpunished.

The marker Confrontation was apparent in every second series (33 cases out of 66). The aim of this marker was to register conflicts between actors. Especially cases where disagreement was disputed and it was presented as a story (MSI, 2011: 194):

...“We worked on a European court case, Dzhavadov v. Russia, when journalist Valery Dzhavadov was denied registration for a newspaper titled Letters to the President. He tried to register it as a federal newspaper.” Dzhavadov lodged a complaint to a Moscow court, but lost the case. The court judged that the title of the newspaper gave the misleading impression that it was an official publication of the

president's administration – and that the journalist had to ask the president's administration just for permission to use the word “president.”

The markers Democratic events (31.82 percent) and Military campaign / actions (15.15 percent) were usually tied with time. Prior to and/or after elections (Duma or Presidential ones) reports describe how the media environment reacted and covered these events. This trend goes as well for the marker Military campaign / actions. These markers were not as apparent as other actions, but it is interesting to consider actors who were the subjects and the words that were used in related utterances. Two examples from the year 2009, a year after presidential elections and military actions in Georgia (MSI, 2009: 183, 188):

In 2008, Russian authorities maintained their control over the information sphere. The government's influence became obvious to observers during the Russian media coverage of the presidential campaign in the spring and the August military action in South Ossetia, Georgia.

Still, there are examples when media—even small local newspapers in the regions—adhere to professional journalism standards and cause outrage among their readers. According to Maria Eismont, during the August 2008 Russian military campaign in South Ossetia, newspapers that included the Georgian point of view in their coverage “immediately experienced the storm of hateful and outraged comments from their readers, because the public completely supported all activities of Russian authorities, and the majority of the media were under the spell of overall propaganda and state policy,” she said.

For instance the utterance by Maria Eismont included two actors – the public and the media. The action of the public was described with strong adjectives: ... *the storm of hateful and outraged comments*.... Second example described propaganda and state policy as a magic power: ...*the media were under the spell of*

The marker Exclusion was registered in 26 series (39.39 percent) and included two types of exclusion: victimizing or eliminating from work (editors, journalists) or falling out of favor (newspaper or TV station is losing audience). This marker describes the rate of negative dynamics in the Russian media environment. Nearly 40 percent of series described some sort of exclusion or diminishing, though it should not be taken as a serious threat for media sustainability. This marker should not be considered as a characteristic attribute *per se*, because if one medium is losing its readership then the other is winning, because public need exists.

The marker Other therefore helped to collect peculiar actions that did not fit well under previous actions and is single. Some examples are brought out:

- audience and market research
- xenophobia
- philanthropy
- auditing
- SMS voting (a system that enables cellular phone users to vote)
- leaving the country

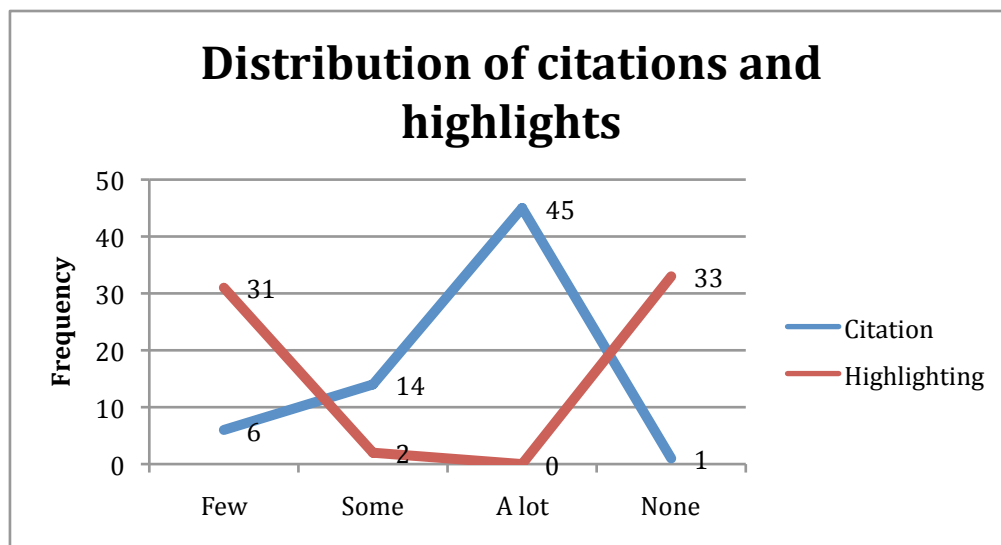
Citations and Highlighting

In order to fulfill the aim of study, necessary was to code all citations and highlighting. Citation was considered as a quotation from a panelist or from external source (for example statistical results from monitoring company) and highlighting as pick out from the main text and emphasized in a bigger font. As highlights tend to be picked out from citations, their occurrence and content has been studied simultaneously.

Amount and tonality of citations and highlights was registered with same categories as well (see appendix 1). Such an approach gives an opportunity to compare these markers with each other. Chart 13 is illustrating that their amounts were oppositional. Within one series there were 6 and more citations (a lot) and 1-2 highlights (few). More important than frequency is content and its context and how they differ between citations and highlights, especially because highlights were picked out from citations.

Chart 13: Chart is comparing distribution of citations and highlights in each section (count 66). Dividing each section into four groups by counting them up with absolute numbers. Measuring citations and highlights in each section by their rate of occurrence:

Few	1 - 2
Some	3 - 5
A lot	6 and more
None	0



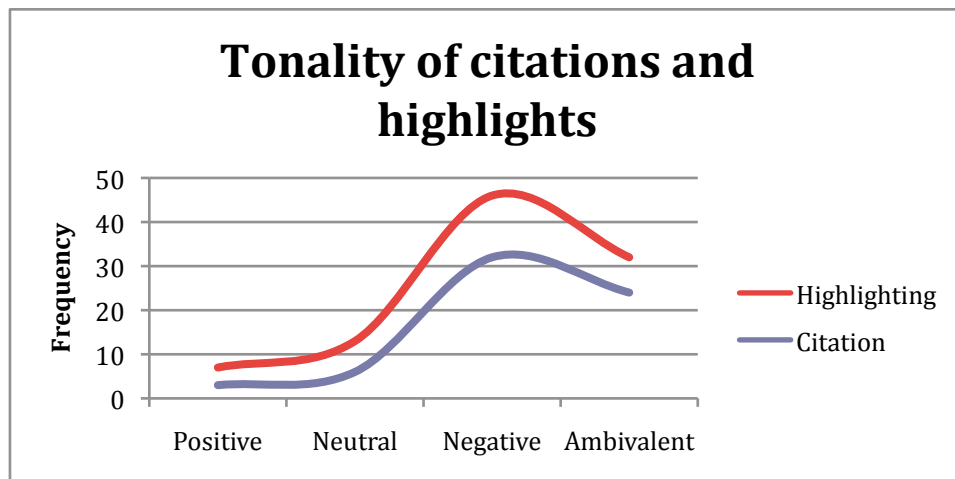
Before observing the contextual differences/similarities, useful is to distinguish their tonality. Tone of a citation or highlighting was categorized into five groups:

- Positive – citation/highlighting is describing positive trends; describing success or innovation
- Neutral - general character cannot be identified
- Negative - citation/highlighting is describing negative trends; describing failures or hindrances
- Ambivalent - citation/highlighting has mixed feelings; contradictory ideas about something or someone
- Not citation/highlighting – no tonality

Chart 14 is showing how citations and highlights were tonally similar. One can conclude that highlights were not used to manipulate with the general tone of a text.

Following chart is using stacked line in order to relate them on same scale that helps to visualize that the tonality for citation and highlighting is similar.

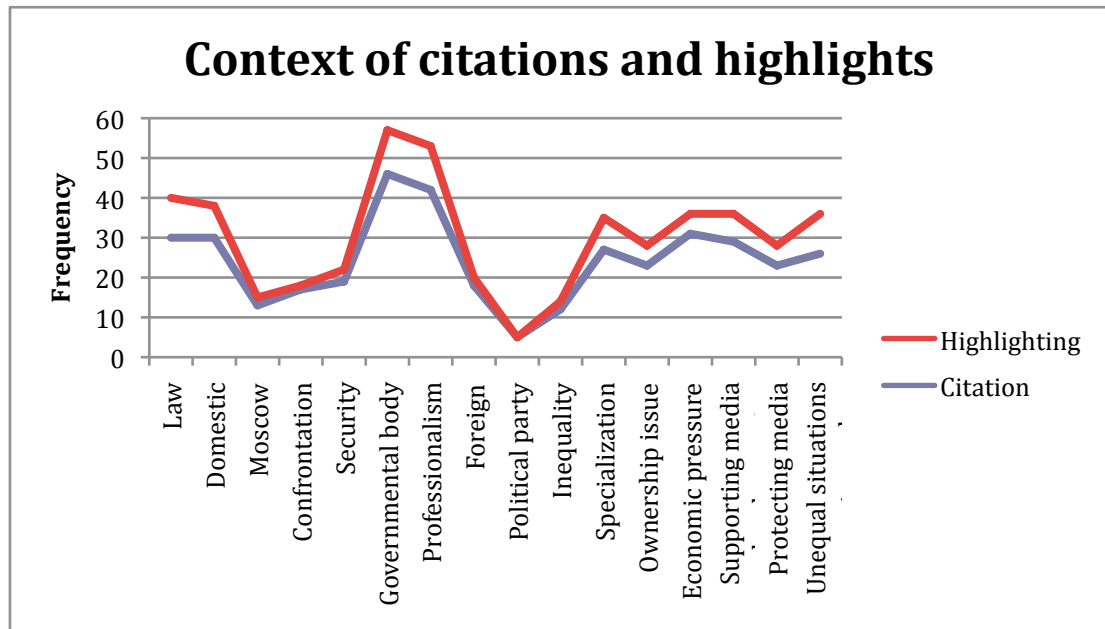
Chart 14: Stacked lines are showing tonal division between citations and highlights. Tonality is distributed into four groups (positive, neutral, negative, and ambivalent) and counted with absolute numbers. Maximum count for each tonality is 66.



If chart above showed similarity of tones in citations and highlights, then following section is examining the variety of contexts and their dominance.

Coding schema had 17 markers for the context of citation and 16 markers for the context of highlighting. In sum the markers were identical, though context of citation had one extra marker Democracy (explanation: valuing its principles). Chart 15 has combined the contexts of citations and highlights (extra marker Democracy for citations, has been left out). Following chart is also using stacked line for better visual and for pointing out differences.

Chart 15: Stacked lines are showing contextual division between citations and highlights. All together there are 16 contexts that are counted up with absolute numbers. Maximum count for each context is 66.



In general, most of the contexts are sharing same trend. Though some of them are dominating and their rate of occurrence also varies as showed in chart 13. First to notice is the marker Law. As stated in the coding schema, marker Law for the context of citation or highlighting includes following topics: implementation or abusing issues of law; freedom of speech, journalism; libel; extremism. In 30 series out of 66, citation(s) were dealing with law; in contrast, law in highlights was registered in ten series out of 66. But as stacked line in chart 15 shows, law as a topic was more dominating in highlights. It means that implementation or abusing issues of law, freedom of speech, libel, and extremism were picked out of text (citation) and highlighted. Same trend is visible for markers Governmental body (including actions (pressure/cooperation) of authorities) and Professionalism (including hidden advertising; education; ethics). It seems that highlighting emphasized these topics.

Other contexts were more or less equally represented. Some variations should be pointed. Russian regions (marker Domestic) versus capital city (marker Moscow) were interestingly divided. There were more citations and highlights about or related with Russian regions than with Moscow. Such trend seems to be forced, especially when considered that MSI reports on Russia have always emphasized that changes in media

sector usually were initiated and started in Moscow, also biggest and diverse market forces (advertising, investments, plurality) are located in the capital city. Thereof maybe editor (moderator) of the report intentionally included citations and highlights that moved geographical location of objects and subjects to the Russian regions. Reason for such trend is unknown, but finding remains – highlights are setting focus more on Russian regions.

Lowest rate of occurrence was registered with marker Political party. Most possibly the explanation for it stands in the nature of MSI to cover more general trends and foremost, panelists (local media experts) do not consider parties actions influential on media sector.

The systems of knowledge that produced the object

Second layer of a post-structuralism theory is the human resource that has composed the reports. According to the methodology of MSI reports, all participants from respective country evaluate individually media system and its functioning as stated in given questionnaire. Later all participants and moderator will gather together as a panel and combine their scores and evaluations together, which before the final outcome will be edited by IREX. Moreover MSI methodology sets a set of conditions for panelists (MSI Russia, methodology: <http://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi-methodology>):

... a panel of local experts is assembled in each country, drawn from the country's media outlets, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), professional associations, and academic institutions. Panelists may be editors, reporters, media managers or owners, advertising and marketing specialists, lawyers, professors or teachers, or human rights observers. Additionally, panels comprise the various types of media represented in a country. The panels also include representatives from the capital city and other geographic regions, and they reflect gender, ethnic, and religious diversity as appropriate. For consistency from year to year, at least half of the previous year's participants are included on the following year's panel.

Thereof content analysis on panelists and moderators has been conducted. All participants were coded for their profession/role; the institution/company were they were working or were connected; the location of participant (whether was she/he from

Moscow or from other region/city); the role of participant (whether was she/he a panelists, moderator, or observer). Appendix 5 summed together most frequently participated panelists and moderators. In 2001, 2002, and 2004 the MSI panel for Russia had also observers from USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development). If in sum there have been 11 reports on Russia, then there are three panelists whose rate of participation was more than 50 percent of all reports. Veronika Dmitrieva, who is a Regional Director for Russia and CIS at Media Development Loan Fund has been as a participant for nine times out of 11. Andrey Allahverdov, a chief editor at Foundation for Independent Radio Broadcasting, and Anna Koshman, a Executive Director at Alliance of Independent Regional Publishers, have been participants for 7 times out of 11. More curious is the rate of moderators. Natalia Kosheleva, a Director at Interregional Institute of Media Consulting has been a moderator for last 6 years in a row. Although other participants and moderators have been varied more (from different regions, media sectors, and institutions), the adequacy is questionable to be a moderator for 6 years in a row. There is a risk of a uniform view and thereof variety of interpretations is impeded. It means that her personal subjective mental context (individual understanding of an occurring events) has had great influence on final outcome. As van Dijk argues (Van Dijk, 2008: 16):

Contexts are subjective participant constructs. ... I consider contexts to be *participant constructs* or *subjective definitions* of interactional or communicative situations. ... My fundamental point is to emphasize that such social situations are able to influence discourse only through their (inter) subjective *interpretations* by participants.

In the discussion part, study is going to analyze the systems of knowledge (panelists and moderators) that produced the object (MSI report on Russia) with other findings from the empirical part.

Panelists frequency

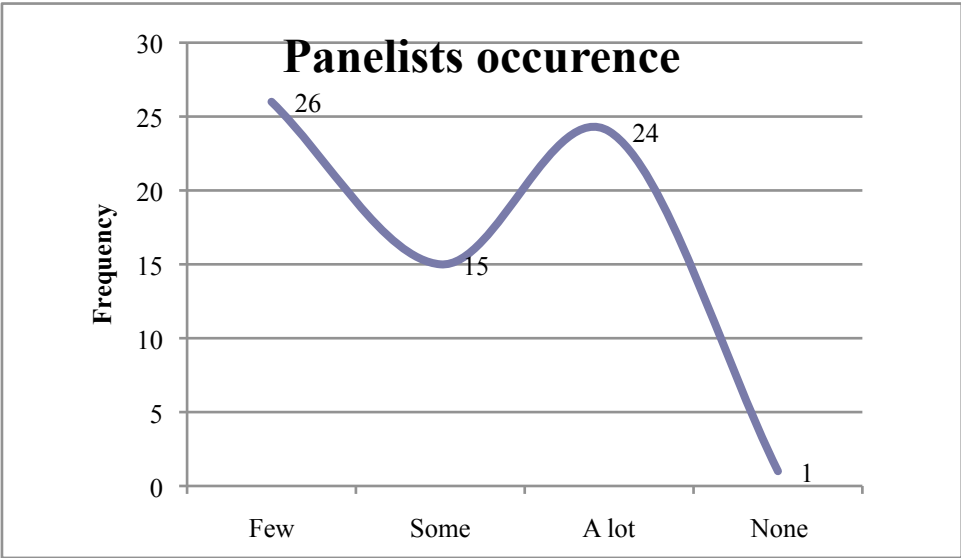
When previous chapter was examining all the participants and their rate of occurrence in every MSI report itself, then following chapter is going to give an insight to panelists rate of occurrence in the series (chart 16). One thing is to notice that there have been several panelists and moderators who have been participating in the evaluation and

composition of Russian Media Sustainability Index. Another thing is their actual input for the report and with the method of content analysis; their input was registered as citation. Occurrence was divided into four groups:

- Few – one or two panelists (in case of anonymous panelists, this rate was used)
- Some – three to five panelists
- A lot – six or more panelists
- None – there were no panelists mentioned

Chart 16: Line is showing amount of panelists who were cited in each section. Total 66 series are divided into four groups that mark the range of cited panelists in absolute numbers:

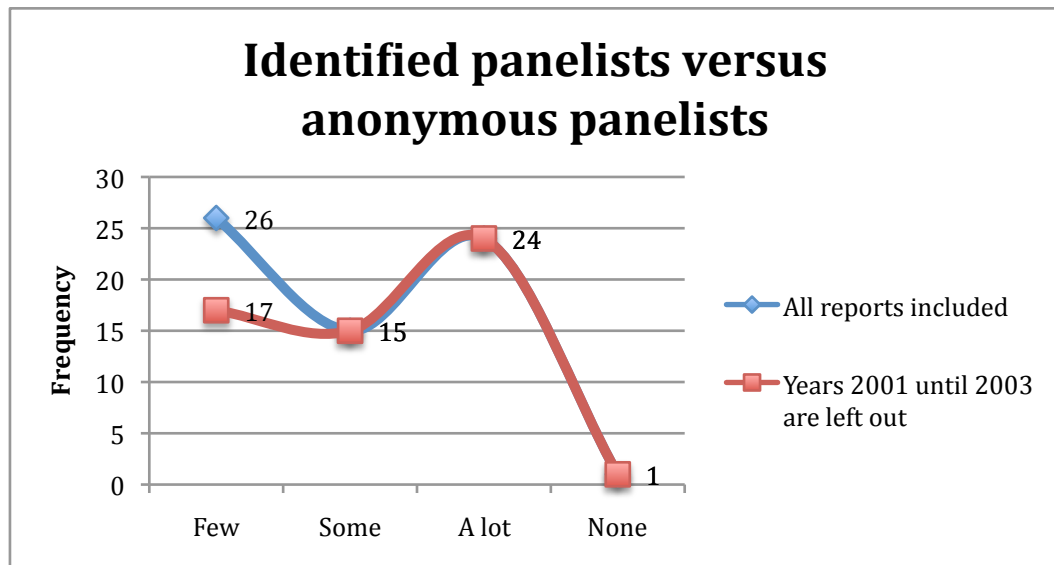
Few	1 - 2 (in case of anonymous panelist, this rate is used)
Some	3 - 5
A lot	6 and more
None	0



As chart 16 is illustrating the rate of panelists' frequency in the series, two dominant trends are apparent. Whether there were few panelists cited in the section or a lot (six or more). Though this trend is twisted due to the citation of anonymous panelists. First three MSI reports on Russia (years 2001, 2002, and 2003) panelists were not identified

by name. Therefore chart 17 is showing difference in the cited panelists when anonymous years (2001-2003) are left out.

Chart 17: Two lines are showing difference among cited panelists who can be identified versus anonymous panelists. Blue line shows all 66 series (anonymous panelists included) and red line shows division of cited panelists when anonymous panelists from group Few (years 2001-2003) is left out. Citation was registered with absolute numbers.



When identifiable panelists are included, then the trend of occurrence is different and shows that MSI reports are supporting plurality of viewpoints and tries to include as much panelists as possible. This adds credibility for the general look and the evaluation itself. Often panelists were put into dialog with each other. In some cases disagreeing and in some cases fulfilling each other thoughts and ideas. Example how panelists fulfill each other with explanations how difficult is for a journalist in Russia to acquire information (MSI Russia, 2008: 182):

“It is impossible to get some kinds of information, especially about budgets, according to Azhgikhina. “It is impossible to find out how much money was spent in a certain region in a certain city to repair a road; a journalist will never be given this information. In some cases, journalists who managed to get into meetings where budget issues were discussed were physically carried out with the assistance of the police.”

Tamerlan Aliev, the editor on chief of Chechen Society, added that in the North Caucasus, acquiring even official information is difficult. “Independent newspapers cannot get information in the press service of the Ministry of Interior of the Chechen Republic. If our journalist goes there, he is told ‘Let your editor contact us, we will talk to him.’” That too leads nowhere.

If to sum up markers Some (15 series out of 66) and A lot (24 series out of 66), then 39 series is 59 percent of sections that include multiple viewpoints from different panelists. Especially from different panelists, because panelists' frequency was counted not on the bases how many times one panelist has been cited, but rather how many different panelists have been cited.

Temporal division within MSI reports from 2001 until 2012

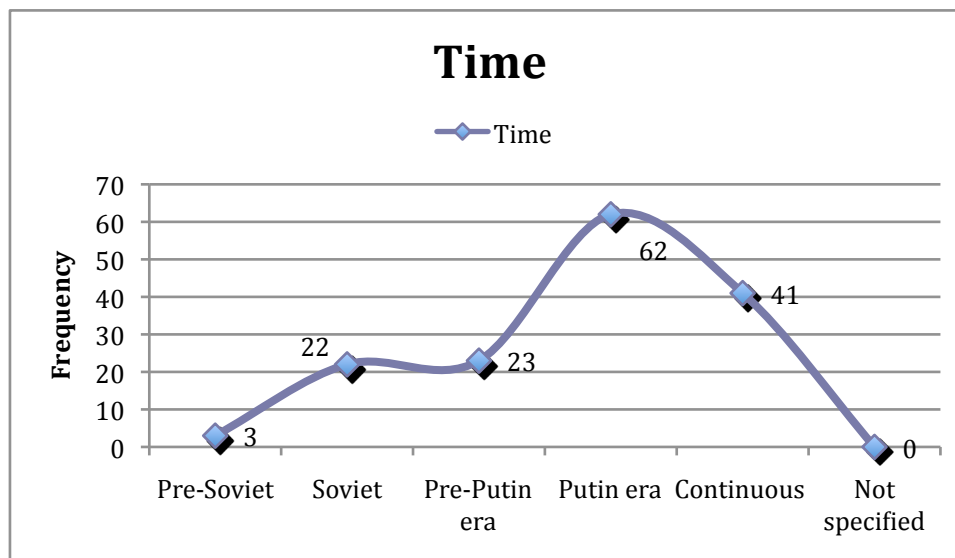
In content analysis is also crucial to distinguish temporal positioning. Reports themselves have written and conducted since 2001, but in a text it is possible to travel in time back and forth. Thereof the coding schema divided time into six groups:

- Pre-Soviet – Czarist Russia until 1917
- Soviet – an era from 1917 when revolutionaries overthrew the Russian government until 1991 when Russia becomes an independent federation
- Pre-Putin era – from 1991 until 1999 when Yeltsin resigns
- Putin era – from 2000 when Vladimir Putin became president of the Russian Federation until 2012 when last MSI report was launched and Putin reelected as a president
- Continuous - undisrupted time flow and/or future
- Not specified - temporal distinction cannot be registered

MSI reports on Russia often do not go back in time and events. As chart 18 is showing 62 series out of 66 clearly identified themselves in their current time, more specifically on a year that report is covering. Looking back has been modest: 22 series marked some action or trend from Soviet times and 23 series the times before Putin (2000) and after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Three series were marked as Pre-Soviet (there were examples taken from Czarist Russia). Marker Not specified was added as control marker for cases when time cannot be identified.

Chart 18: Line is showing temporal division in each section with absolute numbers. All together time was separated among six different eras, where total of series for each era was 66:

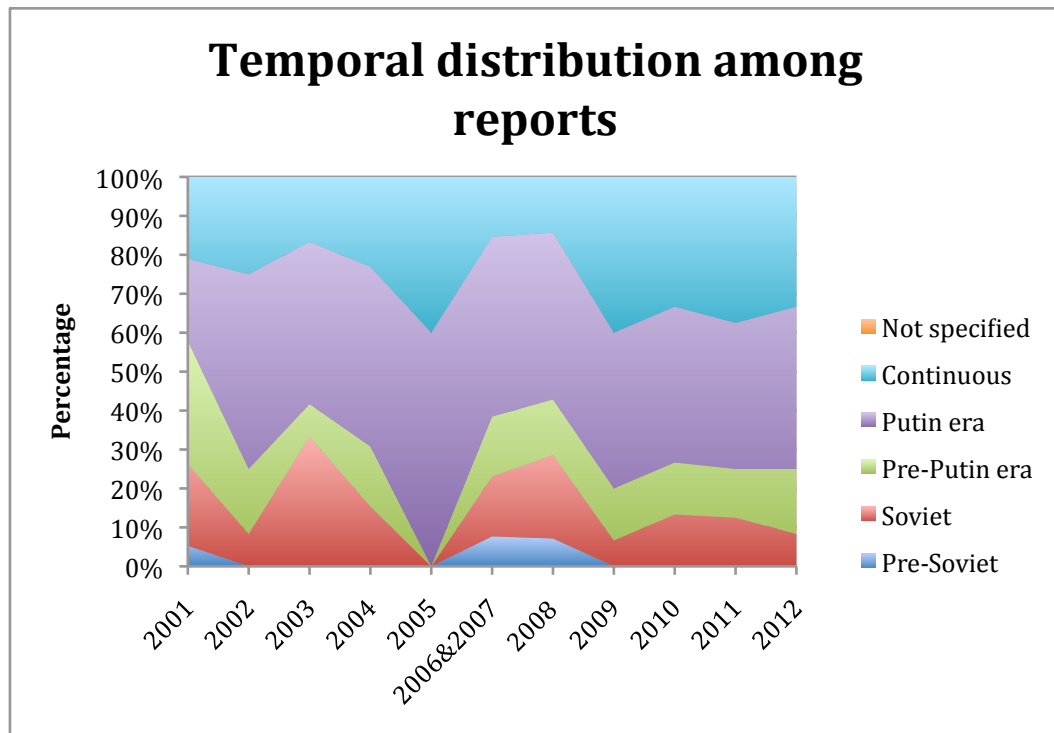
Pre-Soviet	Marks the notion of time before Soviet Union until 1917
Soviet	Marks the notion of the Soviet era from 1917 until 1991
Pre-Putin era	Marks the notion of the pre-Putin era from 1991 until 2000
Putin era	Marks the notion of the Putin era from 2000 until 2012
Continuous	Marks the notion of continuous time flow and/or future
Not specified	Specific time period cannot be identified



Another layer of approach to time is year based. Chart 19 has divided temporal division between reports themselves. This chart reveals that great contrasts temporal division cannot be identified, except the year 2005's report when only two markers of time were distinguished: the Putin era and Continuous. Probably it is unintentional, but there might be other reasons as well. For example if to analyze the panelists of 2005 MSI report. This is the only report that had two moderators, when other reports had only one moderator. Namely they were Anna Koshman, a director at Inter-Regional Institute of Media Consultants, and Anna Averina, Media-Sector Consultant at Eurasia Foundation. Anna Koshman is so called senior panelist (all together she has been included in MSI Russia for seven times), but Anna Averina has been officially included only once. Only

the participants themselves can answer to this phenomenon, but according to van Dijk it is a matter of participants personal subjective mental context (Van Dijk, 2008: 16).

Chart 19: 100 percent stacked area has divided all groups of time (total 6) among all 11 reports. Temporal distribution among reports has been counted with absolute numbers.



Discussion

The discussion part of the current research binds together theoretical framework and empirical findings in order to fulfill the aim of the thesis. This section draws conclusions and shows how implementing content analysis can depict discursive reality. With special focus on human factor that composes MSI reports on Russia.

General research question for current thesis was the following: How well Western based indices can represent media and its functioning? The problematic issue is that adverb *well* itself is ambiguous and therefore difficult to measure. If one claims that MSI is a best possible index to measure the sustainability of media and its functioning, then there is still a question how universal tool current index is. Is the MSI capable of including all cultural, historical, sociological aspects that give unique characteristics to each subject that is under investigation. Most probably it is impossible to have one tool that includes all aspects of each subject and thereof having coherent and complex evaluation tool, mechanism or indicator. As it turned out impossible *to create a taxonomy of media development activities worldwide* (Dashrath, S., 2011). Hence, the current research has set its target on one subject - Russian media, which reality depicted by MSI reports on Russia has been observed and examined. It focuses on a discourse created by an index, which is analyzed and depicted by discursive practice. It is considered necessary to stress that the research does not evaluate Russian media system and its functioning *per se*, but rather constructs depicted Russian media functioning through MSI reports, examining how panelists of MSI Russia represent their input and focused issues.

Furthermore, the research tackles how Western based index, MSI, produces a discourse of Russian media in order to see which actors, actions, contexts, places, institutions et cetera dominate in this discourse. Moreover, it is considered how content has changed from the first MSI report on Russia in 2001 (starts its evaluation from the beginning of 2000) until the latest report accessible in 2012. The emphasis is put on knowledge base assessed and written by local media experts, meaning that it is necessary to examine occurrence and frequency of panelists.

The method examining MSI reports was content analysis, especially its sub-part relational analysis. In order to work out markers/concepts that should be coded, the

theories of three scholars Foucault, Fairclough, and van Dijk were relied on and their works/approaches were put into a dialogue. Through this dialogue, the research found itself concepts to be followed. It was considered essential how to understand concept discourse, and which are those linguistic tools that combine a discourse (utterances), and how to approach and measure those utterances/words/sentences/statements. Two concepts were used and created: context and tonality.

Context is understood for current research by van Dijk's notion that if a researcher wants to show that a subject is seen by its circumstancing environment, important is also to explain, not only to describe (van Dijk, 2008: 4). For coherence, coding divided context into two different divisions. One way of explaining the context was to define actions/events/environment that occurred in a studied section. More precisely, citations and highlights were coded (see appendix 1 for all the coded contexts). The second division of context was actors and their contextual environment. For consistency and logic, context for actors was divided into four groups (positive, negative, ambivalent, and neutral).

Tonality is a concept that was used for two marker groups (citation and highlighting). The aim of tonality was to set general character that sets a tone for citations and highlights. For coherence, the research divided them into four groups (positive, negative, ambivalent, and neutral). Tonality for coding was derived from a concept of modality that Foucault (1992; 1972) and Fairclough (1989; 1992) have set. Even though both scholars explained their approach and understanding of a modality, they are similar in a sense that a mood of verb distinguishes an attitude/authority/position. It was researchers task to decide, classify whether the modal auxiliary verb signifies positive, negative, ambivalent or neutral tone and value.

Modules

Before actual discussion it was considered important to recall theoretical and methodological base for current research. The empirical findings are presented with theoretical and methodological base introduced above. For coherence, empirical findings in this discussion are divided into three modules. The reality that MSI index

was created can be looked using three modules. Among modules, focus is set on the last module that depicts most vivid influence and input from panelists and moderators to the final outcome, the MSI report on Russia. These are frequency, tonality, and context of citations and highlights.

The first module would be general appearance and structural components. It includes markers like *size*, distinguishing the capacity of each section; *location* that positions geographical place where actions and actors are held; *statistics* that set authority towards truth or probability; *type of medium* appoints attention to variety of mediums; *institutions* on the contrary distinguish organs giving an input for MSI reports; and finally *time*, temporal division within reports, distinguishing traveling in time.

The second module handles with actors and actions tackled in MSI reports. It consists of all the actors with their contextual mood (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral) and all the actions where they were intertwined.

The third module on the contrary gives attention to the knowledge base that has subjective authority to influence the text. More specifically, it emerges from citations and highlights. Context and tonality of citations and highlights are clearest cuts of domination. It shows which topics are stressed/emphasized and in which mood. It should be examined hand in hand with panelists' frequency and occurrence, because the majority of citations and highlights are quotes from panelists. The third module also examines the background of panelists and compares their utterances' in context with main text contexts.

First module – structure and appearance

The first module discusses general appearance and structural components. Chart 1 (page 34) reveals that sections of reports are rather uniform (28 sections out of 66 are fitting in a category medium where words amount is between 1000 and 1499). Deviation towards rather large and large sections is objective one, Freedom of Speech. It means that MSI report emphasizes the importance of freedom of speech, where legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information. The second marker

considering location notes that MSI reports on Russia are geographically equal. Different regions, big cities (Moscow and Saint-Petersburg) and abroad are equally represented in all sections. In contrast to statistical records, MSI reports are not uniform. MSI reports use various ways to express ratios and shares, but there is a tendency to be relative. The news reporting for example expresses authority towards truth or probability with concrete percentages and absolute ratios, but MSI reports use in addition to rates and percentages also relative intermediate possibilities with modal adverbs and auxiliaries. (see chart 3 on page 36).

Even though, television is a main source of information for Russians (MSI Russia, 2011: 199), MSI reports equally deal with all four types of mediums (TV, radio, print, Internet). It means that MSI is not discriminative towards any medium. But institutional input for MSI reports has its variations. Reports have two protagonist institutions, Governmental and Private. Their existence was registered in almost every section (respectively 62 and 59 times out of 66). Then Russian NGOs were registered (52 times out of 66) supporting sustainability and development of media in Russia. These three institutions' actors and actions were most prominent. Such trend seems to be natural, because they are interrelated and essential parts of media system in general. Rather surprising was the occurrence of Educational institutions (24 times out of 66) in negative context, representing the strongly negative attitude for journalism departments (emphasizing poor quality and students low motivation for journalistic work). Thereof MSI reports depict present situations where three main institutions (Governmental, Private, and NGO) act and stress poor increment from young generation.

The final component for the first module is its temporal division, the flexibility of MSI reports to travel in time. Content analysis found out that MSI reports seldom concentrate on different historical periods. Dominantly, the report focuses on the Putin era (62 times out of 66) and notes continuous time flow. In rare cases report looks back to Czarist Russia; most examples/notions were made from the Pre-Putin era and from the Soviet era (respectively 23 and 22 times out of 66). In conclusion MSI reports depict reality here and now, and if necessary then look back to yesterday or recent past.

Second module – actors and actions

The second module consists of all the actors and actions that occurred in MSI reports on Russia. Both marker groups (actors and actions) had variations that created diverse general picture. Nevertheless, the discussion part points out dominators that shaped general appearance of MSI reports. Among 19 actors, they can be divided in three groups by their frequency: most frequent, average, and low frequency (see chart 6 on page 43). More important than pure frequency, is to describe actors in contextual division. Chart 7 on page 44 combines all the actors with their respective contexts (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral). It is interesting to see the variations between and within actors. General conclusion is that state affiliated companies and authorities had high rate of occurrence, and their context was strongly negative as well. In contrast, private companies who also had high frequency were depicted mainly in ambivalent or in negative context. Another prominent actor labeled as Professional is considered to be a journalist, a person who is a focal body in media that produces the news and articles. Radar on chart 9 (page 46) shows journalists' contextual division among other actors who were registered with high frequency. The dominant context is negative, then ambivalent, and finally also fewer cases with positive context. In sum, MSI reports depict actors with variety of contextual mood, but negativity dominates. This is related to actions where actors are figuring.

In total, content analysis marked 17 different types of apparent actions. There are three groups of actions in general for MSI reports. Firstly, emphasize is put on law enforcement and implementation issues. Reports note that laws exist, but they are often abused against freedom of speech and freedom of press. The second group consists of variety of pressures from different sources that intimidate media functioning. The radar on chart 12 (page 52) shows how different pressures hold the majority among other actions. The last group of actions emphasized by MSI reports was against journalists (murder, harassment/persecution/beating, imprisoning/arresting). If to count together all these actions against journalists then they constitute 59.70 per cent of all series (46 series out of 66). All these three groups of actions are negative by their nature (abuse, intimidation, murder et cetera) and therefore actors who act in those circumstances/environment are affected by negative contexts.

MSI reports depict variety of actions and actors, but actions are affected by dominantly negative features that influence general discourse in negative terms.

Third module – citations and highlights

Structural and subjective components are examined above, also the ways and methodology how they depict a discourse or an index –all aspects constructing reality. Then for P-S work it is crucial to investigate and observe the systems of knowledge that produced the object, the MSI reports on Russia. It means an impact from panelists and moderators. One of the most visible ways to see their influence/effect with content analysis is to pay attention on citations and highlights. It would be the third module.

Citations in MSI reports are dominantly quotes from participants; it means that one participant's utterance is considered to be enough up to the point/important that it needs to be emphasized. The alternative way to stress something out is to highlight it, meaning that some particular utterance is brought out from the main text and it is emphasized in a bigger font. The findings from content analysis is discussed that registered frequency, tonality and context of all the citations and highlights in each section.

The majority of series (45 out of 66) used a lot of citations; it means that in a section there were six or more different quotations that referred most commonly a participant or an external source (for example a public opinion poll results). And half of the series (33 out of 66) had few (1-2) or some (3-5) highlights per section. It important aspect that other half of the series (33 out of 66) had zero highlights, for instance years 2001, 2004, and 2010 did not have any highlights in any section. The number of highlights in other reports varies. It is concluded that this differentiation among reports is connected with moderators who wrote a report on respective years. It can be assumed that the moderators who composed a report on a year 2001, 2004, or 2010 did not find it necessary to stress or emphasize any utterance of a report by highlighting it. The second possibility that a moderator lacks knowledge to highlight certain aspects is less probable due to the fact that moderator for year 2010 was Natalia Kosheleva (director at Inter-Regional Institute of Media Consulting) who has been a moderator for the last six

reports, which all contained highlights (except for the year 2010). It is presumed that the composer influences the way in which MSI report's discourse is presented.

Nevertheless, it is important to stress that MSI reports tend to quote and emphasize in general. It is a matter of authority towards truth or probability, the report shows its adequacy. MSI report is inclusive by including external sources and direct utterances from panelists who gave their input for evaluation and final outcome.

If it is clear that MSI reports are inclusive in terms of citations and highlights, then it is crucial to investigate their content. The current research looked on two aspects: tonality and context. In most cases, highlights were borrowed/taken from citations, in empirical part they were analyzed together. Chart 14 (on page 57) and chart 15 (on page 58) show respectively tonality and context of citations and highlights. Stacked lines on those charts reveal that tonality and context are following similar trends. In tonality they are mostly negative and/or ambivalent. It means that mood of a verb in citations and highlights note/show negative trends or have mixed feelings (ambivalent). Context on the contrary distinguishes circumstances/environment of citations and highlights. In general, there was not remarkable contextual difference between them. It is essential to point out three dominating contexts: Law, Governmental body, and Professionalism. These are those contextual groups that MSI reports emphasize. It can be stressed that two contextual groups (Law, Governmental body) go hand in hand with two action groups with high frequency (Law enforcement and implementation issues, and Political pressure) that were discussed in the second module.

The first similarity between actions and citations/highlights is law enforcement and implementation issues. 43 series out of 66 were registered for actions, dealing with law, whether they were abused, misused or simply stating that laws exist, but they are not implemented. For citations and highlights chart 15 (on page 58) shows that contextual group Law (implementation or abusing issues of law, freedom of speech, libel, and extremism) is emphasized and attention to be put on the fact that stacked line on this chart shows that highlighting dominates over citations by ratio. It means that law enforcement and implementation issues are considered important topic for Russian media and MSI reports emphasize it by highlighting and having frequent action in general (44 series out of 66).

The second commonality is action group Pressure and citation/highlight context Governmental body. The group of pressures were distinguished by source of pressure. The highest frequency was registered for political pressure, 63 series out of 66 (chart 11 on page 49) and also Governmental body had highest contextual frequency for citations and highlights (see chart 15 on page 58). Governmental body was considered as actions by the authorities (mostly pressure). This trend reveals MSI reports on Russia to be coherent; the discourse that they create is logical and consistent. Actions that are most apparent in the main text are also emphasized by cites and highlights.

Though, there are opposite examples as well. The third most frequent action on MSI reports constitutes variety of actions like murder, harassment, beating, and imprisoning journalists (all together 46 series out of 66), but those actions against journalists are not stressed equally often by citing or highlighting. Contextual marker Security for citations and highlighting was registered respectively 19 and one series out of 66. Thereof, there are topics that are frequent in main text and also occur often in cites and highlights, for example above depicted law enforcement and implementation issues, and variety of pressures from different sources (mainly from authorities). But there are actions against journalists, which constitute 59,70 percent of all series, but are not as often cited or highlighted. Reasons for that may vary (delicacy, fear) and reasoning of that will be too vague. Thereof, the current research states that depicted discourse about Russian media by MSI is content sensitive. It can be noticed that it is not a case that some topics are neglected; sensitivity appears rather with textual tools (quotes and highlighting) that help to emphasize certain aspects/topics.

Attention should be put on contextual differences among cites and highlighting. Chart 15 (page 58) reveals spatial trend from capital city to Russian regions. Among citations and highlights marker Domestic was more frequently as a topic/subject than capital city Moscow. In sum, it means that MSI reports on Russia emphasize media situation more in regions and pay attention on three topics: Law (implementation or abusing issues of law, freedom of speech, libel, and extremism), Governmental body (actions of authorities, whether it is pressure or cooperation), and Professionalism (including hidden advertising, education, ethics).

Content analysis included participants (moderators, panelists, observers) roles and occurrence as well. It is necessary to point out that methodology of MSI clearly states variety of conditions for panelists (stressing diversity by geographical location, profession, type of medium et cetera). Also, it is stated that at least half of previous years' panelists should remain the same. This is most probably a method to be consistent and coherent in the content of MSI reports. But there is no regulation stating that one panelist can occur multiple years in a row, and for MSI reports on Russia, there are several panelists who have participated seven to nine times out of 11 reports (see appendix 5). Most curious is a fact that the last six MSI reports were led by one and same moderator, Natalia Kosheleva (Director at Interregional Institute of Media Consulting). Even though methodology of MSI does not prohibit such rate of participation, questionable is its benefit for reports. It diminishes plurality of input, as van Dijk (2008: 16) noted that contexts are subjective participant constructs, then having one moderator for six years keeps content subjectively constant. Moreover, attention should be put on geographical location as well. Appendix 5 shows that all the panelists and moderators who have been participating up to nine years are all from Moscow, even though their professional background is different, they carry and enforce media situation from the viewpoint of Moscow.

Nevertheless, as it was stated above that MSI reports are inclusive in a sense that a lot of external sources and different citations from panelists were included. In order to examine the rate of plurality of viewpoints, content analysis also counted up all different panelists that were cited in series. In total 99 percent of series included quotes/citations, but it is important to stress that 24 series out of 66 had six or more different citations from different panelists or from external sources. In contrast, it means that the rest of the series had less than six different panelists/sources cited. If to add amount of panelists per year (from 10 to 15), then it reveals that MSI reports include variety of viewpoints/quotes from different panelists, but there is amount of panelists whose input has not been included by citing or highlighting. In conclusion, MSI report chooses which or whose utterance is valuable to emphasize or not. Thereof, MSI reports can be considered not only inclusive, but also plural-inclusive even though when some panelists participate six to nine years in a row and not every panelist's voice is not apparent.

Constructed reality

As it was assumed in the introduction of the current research, index is a utility tool that enables to produce and direct discourse in a given field. Material that index uses to deliver message from consciousness to consciousness is language. Main aim of the thesis was to investigate how MSI reports on Russia influence and control the production of discourse with specific focus on human factor that has an influence on the final outcome. Above described three modules recalled empirical findings into characteristics that interpret and depict reality that MSI reports on Russia have constructed. Among other findings from content analysis, important is to stress contextual commonalities between main text and citations, highlights. Third module focuses on emphasizes from panelists and moderators, the citations and highlights, which are considered to be textual tools that give special importance or prominence to particular topics. Curious finding is that two contextual topics, law enforcement and implementation issues and pressure from authorities are equally frequent, prominent in the main text and among citations and highlights. Whereas negative actions against journalists (murder, harassment, beating, imprisonment) are not equally emphasized with citing and highlighting as they appear among the main text. Therefore, the research concludes that the discourse depicted by MSI reports on Russia is emphasizing Western concept rule of law and activities from authorities, while textual tools, citing and highlighting do not emphasize security and working environment of journalists. Hence is inline with Foucault's (2005a: 9-10) hypothesis that *the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed* – MSI controls and selects the production of discourse by differentiating which contextual topics to emphasize or not. Noting that it is not random, it is implemented *according to a certain number of procedures*, which in the current case are set in the methodology of MSI. In turn, serving greater purpose – *to avert its powers and its dangers* in order to root and at the same time promote western hegemonic values.

Conclusion

There is great variety of literature that observes/investigates media, media systems and their functioning worldwide and/or in a specific country. There is literature that sets certain frames and chooses a tool/method for investigation. Most frequently, topics rotate on the purpose, aim, and role of media. Another aspect is to implement an index to measure media functioning. The current research was curious on one specific index, Media Sustainability Index (MSI), and its evaluation on Russia. Every year MSI conducts a panel of local media experts whose aim is to measure and evaluate Russian media system and its functioning. On the basis of their evaluation, a report is composed annually. A report is a text, a collection of utterances that are combined by moderator, and thereof creating a discourse that is led by the methodology of MSI. IREX is a US based organization who created and implements a normative media index (MSI) that guides a creation and direction of a discourse. This is a pattern of action that is in line with Foucault's main paradigm, where he investigated emergence from subjective opinion to objective knowledge. More precisely, he stressed that there are always specific procedures that control and guide the direction of discourse in order to prevent its power abuse (Foucault, 2005a: 9-10). It means that there is always a methodology responsible for the process from an opinion to knowledge. And the way in which MSI reports are conducted is a procedure that transforms subjective opinion to knowledge.

The aim of current research was not to investigate the content of MSI reports with respect to actual Russian media environment, nor to investigate methodology of MSI per se, but instead to reflect and interpret reality that MSI reports depict, the knowledge about Russian media and its functioning. In order to fulfill set aims, the research conducted content analysis. 215 different markers were created, which combined 17 marker groups. Empirical part of the thesis introduced all the marker groups and gave an interpretation and evaluation for them by various types of charts. Discussion part of the thesis, on the contrary, evaluated findings by dividing them in three modules that depict Russian media and its functioning by MSI reports on Russia. The findings from three modules are the following:

First module included structural components and concludes:

- Sections of MSI reports are rather equal in size, with an exception of a section that deals with freedom of speech, which tends to be greater in size. Thereof, MSI emphasizes the prominence of freedom of speech where legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information
- Spatial distribution in MSI reports is equal. It means that the reality that MSI depicts is located across the Russian Federation.
- Statistical records are presented with relative intermediate possibilities with modal adverbs and auxiliaries. MSI is emotional and expressing mood towards truth or probability.
- MSI does not discriminate any type of medium; all four main types (TV, radio, print, Internet) are equally represented.
- MSI has three main institutions, which are present and influence media (Governmental, Private, and NGO). Whereas educational institutions are apparent in negative light, not satisfied with the quality.
- Traveling in time is not an issue, shortcoming for MSI, but main focus is on a present time, the reality here and now.

The second module dealt with actions and actors, and notes from content analysis are the following:

- Variety of actors is present, but they differ by frequency and context. MSI has three protagonist actors whose rate of occurrence is high, but they differ by the mood of context. Authorities and state affiliated companies are strongly depicted in negative context; private companies are mainly in ambivalent or negative context; journalists' context starts from negative, then ambivalent, and finally minor occurrences in positive context. Thereof, negativity dominates.
- MSI has three groups of actions that dominate by their frequency and emphasize their importance. The first are the actions that deal with law enforcement and implementation issues. The second group is variety of pressures from different sources that intimidate media environment. The third group consists of actions that are directed towards journalists (murder, harassment/persecution/beating, imprisoning/arresting). All these three groups of actions are negative already by

its nature (abuse, intimidation, murder et cetera) and therefore actors who act in those circumstances/environment are affected by negative contexts.

The third module looked how the content of MSI reports was influenced by citations and highlights:

- MSI shows its adequacy by using a lot of citations and highlights extensively.
- MSI is inclusive in the sense that it inserts external sources and participants' opinions, utterances.
- Moderator who composes the report decides whether to emphasize by highlighting or not, hence influences the way in which MSI report's discourse is presented.
- Citations' and highlights' tonality is dominantly negative and/or ambivalent.
- Citations' and highlights' lead attention, discourse from Moscow to Russian regions and focus often on three contextual topics: the variety of issues that concern implementation and enforcement of law, including libel and extremism; the variety of actions from authorities (pressure, intimidation, cooperation); the variety of issues that concern journalistic professionalism (ethics, education, hidden advertising).
- Citations' and highlights' two contextual topics (Law, Governmental body) go hand in hand with two action groups with high frequency (Law enforcement and implementation issues, and Political pressure) in the main text. Thereof, actions that are most apparent in the main text are also emphasized by cites and highlights. With an exception of actions against journalists, citations and highlights not stress variety of actions like murder, harassment, beating, and imprisoning journalists equally often with the main text. The current research states that depicted discourse about Russian media by MSI is content sensitive, textual tools (quotes and highlighting) do not emphasize certain aspects/topics.
- As quoting and highlighting are the clearest/most visible input from panelists, MSI reports are plural-inclusive; the majority of series had many quotes from different panelists. Noting that there is amount of panelists whose input has not been included by citing of highlighting.

- Panelists' rotation from year to year does not follow coherent system. There are panelists/moderators who have participated six to nine times out of 11. Thereof, the plurality in this matter is hindered. Especially due to the geographical location, most frequent panelists and moderators are from the capital city and by that they carry and enforce media situation from the viewpoint of Moscow.

As a conclusion, the conducted content analysis was a method for current research to depict a reality, knowledge that normative indicator has created during a certain period of time. The research followed P-S paradigm where importance has to be put on both: on the researchable object and also on the system of knowledge that has produced the object. The outcome of the research was successful; conclusions were drawn on the basis of content analysis. The outcome of the research was three modules describing and interpreting a reality that MSI has created. Whereas concluding that rule of law and activities from authorities are the two most prominent contextual topics on the discourse that MSI reports on Russia are producing.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1

	Category	Explanation	Sub-category	Explanation	Code
1	Report No.	Counting the reports by releases	2001	Release by year	1a
			2002		1b
			2003		1c
			2004		1d
			2005		1e
			2006&2007		1f
			2008		1g
			2009		1h
			2010		1i
			2011		1j
			2012		1k
2	Section	Section of the report	Introduction	Section that introduces whole report; main tendencies; and events (economic, culture, politics	2a
			Free Speech	Legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information	2b
			Professional Journalism	Journalism meets professional standards of quality	2c
			Plurality of	Multiple news sources	2d

			News Sources	provide citizens with reliable, objective news	
			Business Management	Media are well-managed enterprises, allowing editorial independence	2e
			Supporting Institution	Supporting institutions function in the professional interests of independent media	2f
3	Size	Defines the size of the section according to word count	Really small	less than 500 words	3a
			Rather small	500 - 999	3b
			Medium	1000 - 1499	3c
			Rather large	1500 - 1999	3d
			Large	2000 and more words	3e
4	Location	Location of the situation; geographical position	Moscow		4a
			Saint-Petersburg		4b
			Other region		4c
			Abroad	Virtual dimension as well	4d
			Not specified	In the Federation general	4e
5	Statistics	What are the statistics of the numerical results with the utterances recorded in the section?	Other rates, percentages	one tenth / %	5a
			Relative rate, rate ratio,	rate rose / three times	5b

			probability/likelihood	higher probability	
			Absolute numbers, frequencies	148.8 mobile connections per 100	5c
			Arithmetic mean	Average Russian reads daily	5d
			Absolute ratio	3G Internet is now available all over Chechnya	5e
			No statistics is recorded		5f
6	Type of medium	Defines the sort of medium that is under consideration	TV		6a
			Radio		6b
			Print press	Including different publications (magazines/daily journals); and printing houses	6c
			Internet	All kind mediums/publications that are found online	6d
7	Institution	Third part that gives input for the report	NGO	Nongovernmental organization (Glasnost Defence Foundation)	7a
			INGO	International nongovernmental organization (IREX / USAID)	7b

8	Actors	Bodies that are present or mentioned	Educational institute	Moscow State University	7c
			Governmental body	For example aid to the president of Chechnya	7d
			Private company	Running for profit; in Russia and also abroad	7e
	Moreover, each actor is defined in its context as well (positive, negative, ambivalent, neutral)		Acting president/prime minister	Incumbent	8a
			Previous leader(s)		8b
			Professional	Journalist, lawyer, analyst etc.	8c
			Middle management	Department head, technician, editor etc.	8d
			Top management	Director, CEO	8e
			University professor	Deans and institute directors are counted here as well	8f
			Politician	Member of a party, parliament (Duma), political party etc.	8g
			International organization	Member, participant, observer	8h
			State-owned company	For example Gazprom or Channel One	8i
			Private company	For example Media Most	8j

			News agencies	ITAR-TASS/INTERFAX/RIA Novosti	8k
			Minorities	Ethnic, gender, sexual etc.	8l
			Governmental body	Ministry, State Duma, local authorities	8m
			Oligarch	Rich and powerful figure	8n
			Court	Judges, system in general, prosecutor,	8o
			Police	As an institution or police officer, investigator	8p
			Opposition	Political	8r
			Other	Other actors	8s
			Public	Readers/voters/taxpayers	8t
9	Actions	Defines the actions that occur	Change/implementa- tion issue of law		9a
			Murder		9b
			Harassment / persecution /beating		9c
			Imprisoning / arresting		9d
			Establishing / founding		9e
			Closing down	Bankruptcy included	9f
			Political	Some sort of political	9g

			pressure	control over media	
			Economic pressure	Including marketing issues	9h
			Cultural/Social pressure	Includes ethics	9i
			International pressure	Including cooperation	9j
			Confrontation	Describing conflict between parties	9k
			Taking over	Managing is taken over by other part	9l
			(Self) Censorship		9m
			Military campaign actions	/	9n
			Democratic events	Elections, political rallies	9o
			Exclusion	Victimize or eliminating from work or falling out of favor	9p
			Other	Other actions	9r
10	Amount of citations	Defines the amount of citations in the section	Few	1 - 2	10a
			Some	3 - 5	10b
			A lot	6 and more	10c
			None	0	10d
11	Tonality of citations	Defines the general character of the citations	Positive	Citation is describing positive trends;	11a

				describing success or innovation	
			Neutral	General character cannot be identified	11b
			Negative	Citation is describing negative trends; describing failures or hindrances	11c
			Ambivalent	Citation has mixed feelings; contradictory ideas about something or someone	11d
			No citation - no tonality		11e
12	Context of citation	Defines the context of citations	Law	Implementation or abusing issues; freedom of speech, journalism; libel; extremism	12a
			Domestic	Russian regions	12b
			Moscow	Context is located to the capital	12c
			Confrontation	Between parties/opposition, scandals	12d
			Security	Feeling safe or harmed; crime	12e
			Governmental body	Including actions (pressure) of authorities	12f
			Professionalism	Including: hidden advertising; education; ethics	12g

			Foreign	Cooperation or intervention	12h
			Political party	Actions, intervention, pressure	12i
			Inequality	Staff, gender, salary	12j
			Specialization	Differentiation between media duties/plurality	12k
			Ownership issue	Dealing with ownership question/ transparent or not	12l
			Economic pressure	Private companies/owner having pressure on media	12m
			Supporting media development	Events, legal consultation, settle conflict situation, subsidies	12n
			Protecting media	Actions, events, bodies (NGOs)	12o
			Unequal situations are stressed	Independent versus state/ regions versus Moscow	12p
			Democracy	Valuing its principles	12r
13	Highlighting	Amount of highlighting	Few	1 - 2	13a
			Some	3 - 5	13b
			A lot	6 and more	13c
			None	0	13d
14	Tonality of highlighting	Defines the general character of the highlighting	Positive	Highlighting is describing positive trends; describing	14a

				success or innovation	
			Neutral	General character cannot be identified	14b
			Negative	Highlighting is describing negative trends; describing failures or hindrances	14c
			Ambivalent	Highlighting has mixed feelings; contradictory ideas about something or someone	14d
			No highlighting - no tonality		14e
15	Context of highlighting	Defines the context of highlights	Law	Implementation or abusing issues; freedom of speech, journalism; libel; extremism	15a
			Domestic	Russian regions	15b
			Moscow	Context is located to the capital	15c
			Confrontation	Between parties/opposition	15d
			Security	Feeling safe or harmed; crime	15e
			Governmental body	Including actions (pressure/cooperation) of authorities	15f
			Professionalism	Including: hidden advertising; education; ethics	15g
			Foreign	Cooperation or	15h

				intervention	
			Political party	Actions, intervention, pressure	15i
			Inequality	Staff, gender, salary	15j
			Specialization	Differentiation between media duties	15k
			Ownership issue	Dealing with ownership question	15l
			Economic pressure	Private companies/owner having pressure on media	15m
			Supporting media development	Events, legal consultation, settle conflict situation	15n
			Protecting media	Actions, events	15o
			Unequal situations are stressed	Independent versus state/regions versus Moscow	15p
16	Panelists frequency	How many different panelists are cited in the section	Few	1 - 2 (in case of anonymous panelists, this rate is used)	16a
			Some	3 - 5	16b
			A lot	6 and more	16c
			None	0	16d
17	Time	Defines the temporal space	Pre-Soviet	Marks the notion of time before Soviet Union until 1917	17a
			Soviet	Marks the notion of the Soviet era from 1917 until 1991	17b
			Pre-Putin era	Marks the notion of the pre-Putin era from 1991	17c

	until 2000	
Putin era	Marks the notion of the Putin era from 2000 until 2012	17d
Continuous	Marks the notion of continuous time flow and/or future	17e
Not specified	Specific time period cannot be identified	17f

Appendix 2

(from: MSI, Methodology: <http://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi-methodology>)

I. OBJECTIVES AND INDICATORS

Objective #1: Legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information.

Indicators

1. Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
2. Licensing or registration of broadcast media protects a public interest and is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
3. Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
4. Crimes against media professionals, citizen reporters, and media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
5. The law protects the editorial independence of state or public media.
6. Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
7. Public information is easily available; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media, journalists, and citizens.
8. Media outlets' access to and use of local and international news and news sources is not restricted by law.
9. Entry into the journalism profession is free and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

Objective #2: Journalism meets professional standards of quality.

Indicators

1. Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
2. Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
3. Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
4. Journalists cover key events and issues.
5. Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption and retain qualified personnel within the media profession.
6. Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
7. Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.

8. Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

Objective #3: Multiple news sources provide citizens with reliable, objective news.

Indicators

1. Plurality of public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet, mobile) exist and offer multiple viewpoints.
2. Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted by law, economics, or other means.
3. State of public media reflect the views of the political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
4. Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for media outlets.
5. Private media produce their own news.
6. Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge the objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
7. A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.
8. The media provide news coverage and information about local, national, and international issues.

Objective #4: Media are well-managed enterprises, allowing editorial independence.

Indicators

1. Media outlets operate as efficient and self-sustaining enterprises.
2. Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
3. Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
4. Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards.
5. Government subsidies and advertising are distributed fairly, governed by law, and neither subvert editorial independence nor distort the market.
6. Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor the product to the needs and interests of the audience.
7. Broadcast ratings, circulation figures, and Internet statistics are reliably and independently produced.

Objective #5: Supporting Institutions function in the professional interests of independent media
Indicators

1. Trade associations represent the interests of media owners and managers and provide member services.
2. Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights and promote quality journalism.
3. NGOs support free speech and independent media.
4. Quality journalism degree programs exist providing substantial practical experience.
5. Short-term training and in-service training institutions and programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
6. Sources of media equipment, newsprint, and printing facilities are apolitical, not monopolized, and not restricted.
7. Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, cable, Internet, mobile) are apolitical, not monopolized, and not restricted.
8. Information and communication technology infrastructure sufficiently meets the needs of media and citizens.

Appendix 3

(from UNESCO, 2008: 11):

The five principal media development categories are:

CATEGORY 1: A system of regulation conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media: existence of a legal, policy and regulatory framework which protects and promotes freedom of expression and information, based on international best practice standards and developed in participation with civil society.

CATEGORY 2: plurality and diversity of media, a level economic playing field and transparency of ownership: the state actively promotes the development of the media sector in a manner which prevents undue concentration and ensures plurality and transparency of ownership and content across public, private and community media.

CATEGORY 3: media as a platform for democratic discourse: the media, within a prevailing climate of self-regulation and respect for the journalistic profession, reflects and represents the diversity of views and interests in society, including those of marginalised groups. There is a high level of information and media literacy.

CATEGORY 4: professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpins freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity: media workers have access to professional training and development, both vocational and academic, at all stages of their career, and the media sector as a whole is both monitored and supported by professional associations and civil society organisations.

CATEGORY 5: infrastructural capacity is sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media: the media sector is characterised by high or rising levels of public access, including among marginalised groups, and efficient use of technology to gather and distribute news and information, appropriate to the local context.

Appendix 4

Action	Percentage
Change/implementation issue of law	65.15%
Murder	22.73%
Harassment / persecution /beating	18.79%
Imprisoning / arresting	18.18%
Establishing / founding	48.48%
Closing down	30.30%
Political pressure	95.45%
Economic pressure	77.27%
Cultural/Social pressure	62.12%
International pressure	46.97%
Confrontation	50.00%
Taking over	13.64%
(Self)Censorship	40.91%
Military campaign / actions	15.15%
Democratic events	31.82%
Exclusion	39.39%
Other	0%

Appendix 5

Name	Profession/Role	Institution	Location	Role (P,M,O)	Occurrence
Andrey Allahverdov	Chief editor	Foundation for Independent Radio Broadcasting	Moscow	P	7
Andrey Richter	Executive Director	Media Law and Policy Center	Moscow State University	P	4
Anna Koshman	Executive Director	Alliance of Independent Regional Publishers	Moscow	P	7
Boris Timoshenko	Head of Monitoring Department	Glasnost Defense Foundation	Moscow	P	5
Dmitri Surnin	Media sector portfolio manager	Eurasia Foundation	Moscow	P	4
Fedor Kravchenko	managing partner	Media Lawyers Collegium, Moscow Office	Moscow	P	5
Manana Aslamazian	Executive Director	Internews/Russia		P	4
Maria Eismont	Director of Russian Independent Media Program	The New Eurasia Foundation	Moscow	P	6
Mikhail Melnikov	Analyst	Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations	Moscow	P	4
Natalia Kosheleva	Director	Interregional Institute of Media Consulting	Moscow	M	6
Tamerlan Aliev	aid; former editor-in-chief of Chechen Society	Office of the President of Chechnya	Grozny	P	4
Veronika Dmitrieva	Regional Director for Russia and CIS	Media Development Loan Fund	Moscow	P	9
Yevgeny Abov	vice president	Guild of Periodical Press Publishers	Moscow	P	4